

BYZANTIUM
IN THE
SEVENTH CENTURY

ANDREAS N. STRATOS

III
642-668

Translated by
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CHAPTER I

CONSTANTINE THE THIRD*

When Constantine III ruled as sole emperor, Byzantium was undergoing one of the most difficult and critical periods in its long history. Although his grandfather Heraclius I had lost irretrievably the wealthy and prosperous eastern provinces he had nevertheless halted the further advances of the Arabs. The initial aggressiveness and surge forward of the latter had been somewhat contained since they no longer had the support which they had enjoyed hitherto of the local populations that were hostilely disposed to Byzantium.

The new conquerors set about laying the organizational foundations of their new empire. With the warm support of the recently converted and usually very fanatical populations, irrespective of their previous religious tenets, of the former eastern provinces of the Empire, it was inevitable that the Arabs would sooner or later again become a major threatening power.

The internal situation of the Empire was not happy. The constant riots that had followed in the wake of numerous mutinies and rebellions hampered a dynamic confrontation of the situation, and the successive changes of emperors further frustrated such confrontation.¹ The power of the aristocracy had grown, and in fact this aristocracy now held the reigns of power. Since a strong and imposing royal personage was lacking, the Demes which in the reign of Heraclius had remained calm and cooperative now understandably reverted to dissensions and factional strife.

The rejection by the West and by many other elements of the religious compromise as set out in the "*Ecthesis*" naturally created new

* For the complete list of sources and references used in the footnotes, please refer to the Bibliography at the end.

1. Within the single year (February 641 - February 642), four Emperors had occupied the throne, i.e., Heraclius I, Constantine II, Heraclius II, and Constantine III.

opposition and hostility and once again the unity of the church within the Empire was threatened.

The treasury was empty. Much wealth had been squandered in the form of gifts and bonuses to the troops, either to gain their support for the one faction or to lessen their opposition to another.² It was with the utmost difficulty and sacrifice that the necessary funds were found to defray the costs of the fleet and the army that was being assembled in Rhodes. These forces were intended for Egypt, and their purpose was not only to defend the province but to drive the Arabs from that country.

Administrative reorganization had ceased not only because of the abnormal situation existing but because of the adverse political climate pervading the capital. The lack of funds further aggravated the situation.

Threatening dangers from without, disturbances and chaotic conditions within, new religious disputes, and an empty treasury, such was the picture in the early part of the year 642. And this desperate situation was to be confronted by a youth of eleven years of age.

1

The youthful Emperor was born on November 7 in the year 6122, in the 4th Indiction, that is, on the 7th of November 630.³ He was christened by his paternal uncle Heraclius (Heracleonas) on the 3rd of November 631 and was given the name Flavius Heraclius.⁴ When in the latter part of September 641 he was proclaimed and crowned co-Emperor, since his uncle Heraclius II was the reigning monarch, he was renamed by the populace of the capital Constantine in honor of his father Constantine, but primarily to avoid being confused with his uncle.⁵ This also became his official name. But at some unknown date his subjects, either because of his extreme youth or his short stature, referred to him as Constans, that is, the small Constantine. And he is referred to as Constantine by the only contemporary historians John of

2. See Volume II, pp. 180, 187 and 199.

3. Theophanes, p. 335.

4. See Volume I, p. 264; Ducange, *Familiae*, etc., p. 120.

5. Nicephorus, p. 30.

Nikiu and Sébéos, as well as by the Armenian chroniclers who use Sébéos as a source such as Aḡoghig de Daron, Ghevond and Moses Dasxurançi, not to mention Nicephorus, Eutychius, Paul the Deacon, and most of the Western sources.⁶ The popes always refer to him by this name as do the official acta and documents.⁷ All the coins minted during his reign use the name Constantine. On the other hand, all subsequent chroniclers who, moreover, show a great hatred for him refer to Constantine as Constans.⁸ Consequently, modern historians who cite him as Constans, that is, use the appellation rather than the actual name, and refer to him as Constans the Second, are in grave error. He should be referred to always as Constantine III.⁹ But if one wished to distinguish him from his father and son, both of whom carry the same name, then the adjunct could be added "commonly known as Constans."

The name of his wife would not have survived but for the recordings of the tombs of the emperors which cite "Fausta, wife of Constantine Pogonatus".¹⁰ John of Nikiu (p. 582) maintains that the wife of Constantine was a daughter of Valentine. He had married her after a further mutiny on the part of the latter to avoid bloodshed. But no other

6. Bedae, Andrea Dandolo, John the Deacon, Romualdi, Archiepiscopi Salernitani, Paul Warnefriedes, Chronicon Casinense, Denys de Tell Mahré, as well as the Chronicle of Jacob of Edessa. See also, Constantine Porphyrogennetus in *De Adm. Imp.*, Chapt. 48, 28-29.

7. E.g. Minutes of the Lateran Synod, "in the reign of our Lord Constantine ..."; Mansi, X, 863 f. See also Vasiliev, *Histoire*, etc., I, 255; Mortreuil, *Histoire du Droit Byzantin*.

8. Theophanes, George the Monk, Cedrenus, Zonaras, Manasses, Glycas, Euphramius, Leo the Grammarian, Theodosius Melitene, Agapius, Elie Bar Sinaya, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicle of the Year 1234*, and certain Western sources. The *patridographi* refer to him some times as Constantine and other times as Constans.

9. It has been pointed out, in Volume II, p. 178 and in Footnote 725, why his father is incorrectly referred to as Constantine III. No Byzantine emperor after Constantine the Great bore the name of Constantine or Constans. Of his sons, Constantine was emperor of the West and Constans ruler of Italy and Africa. Hence, the son of Heraclius is wrongly named Constantine III, just as the son of the latter is mistakenly called Constans II.

10. Constantine Porphyrogennetus, *De Cer.*, II, 42; Grierson, *The Tombs*, etc.; Downey, *The Tombs*, etc.; Brooks, *Who Was Constantine Pogonatus?*; Bréhier, *Les Derniers Héraclides*, p. 181.

source, either Byzantine or Eastern or Western records this. If in fact Bishop John's information can be depended upon, then the marriage must have taken place in 642. It should be pointed out that John of Nikiu was a contemporary of the events and that Constantine was then 11 to 12 years of age. At all events, their first child, as far as we know, was born about 650.¹¹ We have meagre information on the family of Constantine, but the chroniclers and official acta record that he had three sons, Constantine, Heraclius and Tiberius. Fearing lest a problem of succession arise in the event of his sudden death, Constantine who always led his armies on military campaigns, proclaimed as co-Emperor his oldest son Constantine. This probably occurred between the 5th and the 13th of April 654.¹² Moreover, in 659, he also crowned as co-Emperors his other two sons Heraclius and Tiberius. The coronation in all likelihood took place between April 24 and August 9, 659.¹³ These are the only concrete facts that have survived concerning Constantine's family.

On the coins, Constantine initially appears beardless, with crown on head and a crucifix set on three steps with the inscription of the Emperor. Such were the early coins minted during his reign.¹⁴ Subsequently, he is depicted with a small beard, and finally with a sweeping

11. Since Constantine IV died in 685 and was then about 35 years of age, he was probably born in 650.

12. Dölger, *Regesten*, etc., No. 221; Grégoire, *Notules épigraphiques*. The latter maintains that he was made co-Emperor between April 5 and 26, 654. Ostrogorsky, *A History*, etc., p. 109; Mortreuil, *Histoire du Droit Byzantin*, who however supports August 654 as the date; Stein, *Post Consulat*, etc., p. 896.

13. Dölger, *op. cit.*, No. 221; Grégoire, *op. cit.*; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*; Brooks, *The Successors of Heraclius*, p. 394; Bréhier, *Les derniers Héraclides*, p. 181. Mortreuil, *op. cit.*, maintains that Heraclius and Tiberius were not crowned as co-Emperors, but were made Caesars. This conflicts with the official acta of the Sixth Ecumenical Council. The first acta, dated November 7, 680, records as dates "the 27th year of the reign of our most divine and graceful Emperors Constantine", and the 22nd year of Heraclius and Tiberius. Consequently, the first was crowned in 654 and the other two in 659, and as Emperors as explicitly stated, not as Caesars. See Mansi, XI, pp. 209 f. Agnelli, in L.P. *Ecclesiae Ravennatus*, footnot 7 of pp. 350-351, states the privileges granted in 666 to the Bishop of Ravenna in which is recorded the 25th year of Constantine's reign and the 24th consulship "atque novo Constantino, Eraclio et Tiberio a Deo coronatis filius .."

14. Goodacre, *Handbook of the Coinage*, etc., p. 104; Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins etc.*, vol. II, part 2nd. pp. 402 f.

mustache and richly flowing growth under the chin. After 654 he appears usually with his son Constantine, and after 659 with his three sons. Gold, silver and bronze coins of Constantine III exist in large number.¹⁵ At the time, there existed five mints, at Constantinople, Carthage, Sicily (Syracuse), Rome, and Ravenna. On all coins the Emperor is referred to as Constantine, as this was his official name.

It is next to impossible to visualize the man and his character. As Bury¹⁶ points out, we know practically nothing of his private life. But it appears that he was below average height and had a highly cultivated sense of duty. He grew up in an atmosphere of perpetual danger and intrigue. His father was in frail health and throughout his childhood he had lived through many a revolution and mutiny which of course eventually secured for him the throne, but which at the same time engendered within himself feelings of tension and insecurity. Nor do we know who tutored him or who his advisers were up until the moment when he himself assumed imperial duties.

Most modern historians rely upon much later Byzantine sources (there are extant, as I emphasize, no works of contemporary chroniclers) that were hostile to him, and especially upon Western sources which without exception depict the man as cruel, having no love for his subjects, without friends, hated by all, and preoccupied for the most part with religious problems. A more distorted picture of the actual monarch is difficult to imagine.

Constantine was a man of action who had no fear of the dangers of the battlefield. At the age of 21, he personally led the imperial forces on an expedition to restore Armenia to the Byzantine sphere of influence.¹⁷ He was always in the van of his army or fleet in its military or naval campaigns. It is certainly true that he did not possess the military genius of his grandfather Heraclius I, but one should bear in mind that the latter performed his great exploits at the comparatively advanced age of 50, whereas the young Constantine died at the age of 38. Although he did not inherit his grandfather's genius, he possessed nevertheless his bravery, his courage, and his military prowess.

15. Wroth, *A Catalogue*, etc.; Goodacre, *op. cit.*; Sabatier, *Monnaies byzantines*; Grabar, *L'iconoclisme*, etc., pp. 15, 16, and *L'Empereur dans l'art*, etc., p. 19.

16. Bury, *A History*, etc., II, 305.

17. See the following Chapter.

Constantine was unbending in character and self-willed. He believed strongly in the idea of the Roman Empire and in the absolute power of its monarch. He punished mercilessly those of any rank and position who did not adhere to the laws of the land and obey the commands of the imperial Roman ruler.

In a century that was notorious for its religious dogmatism, he was remarkably free of such fanaticism.¹⁸ He was never interested in nor ever preoccupied himself with church matters. This explains why he issued the "Type", to stop all disputes and discussion of religious matters at a time when the Empire was going through a difficult period. He lived a very confined life devoting himself exclusively to the problems facing the Empire.

An energetic person, he was a just man, very able, but at the same time authoritative, dominating and stubborn. He gradually rid himself of any outside influences¹⁹ and strove vigorously to meet the Arab menace, the conspirators, and all the numerous external and internal foes of Byzantium. Within a period of 20 years, the rebellions of Valentine had occurred as well as the defections of the Armenians, the revolt of his uncle Gregory, Exarch of Africa, the mutiny of Olympius, Exarch of Italy, the various plots and revolts in Italy and Africa, the conspiracy of the army of Thrace, and especially the constant incitements to rebellion instigated by his brother Theodosius. All these he met head on with remarkable composure and fortitude. He was a Roman Emperor in the tradition of the great Roman emperors, and as Gelzer²⁰ points out, an Emperor capable of fulfilling his mission creditably. But because of his character, he was never popular with his subjects. This tradition compounded by the hostility of the Western clergy, an intense hatred that was soon conveyed by them to the bigoted chroniclers of Byzantium and of the East, has depicted him as a cruel and inhuman tyrant. Unfortunately, this entirely false picture has been perpetuated by most modern historians. They tend to forget that this Emperor, from a very tender age in fact, had confronted so many dangers with unbridled courage and bravery, and that he succeeded in staying, albeit for a brief period only, the further advance of Arab power.

18. Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

19. Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*; Finlay, *A History, etc.*, 1, 374.

20. Gelzer, *Abridged Byzantine History* (in Greek).

A question has arisen concerning the identity of "Pogonatus". Until the early part of our century, it was generally accepted by all historians that the diminutive had been given to the son of Constantine III, that is, Constantine IV. It was Brooks, who, I believe, first doubted the veracity of this tradition.²¹ He observed that the appellation was unknown to the early Byzantine chroniclers that lived after his reign. And in fact, neither Nicephorus, nor Theophanes, nor George the Monk, who flourished nearest to the period²² make any mention of the name. The first to record the diminutive are the later chroniclers, but these give the appellation to Constantine IV. I give more details on the sources in Historical Note I.

Brooks argues that there is nothing special about the beard of Constantine IV to warrant the appellation of "Pogonatus". On the other hand, Constantine III, particularly when he was somewhat older, is depicted on his coins with a richly flowing beard.²³ Brooks also pointed out that in the list of the imperial tombs is recorded the tomb of Fausta, "wife of Constantine Pogonatus". In concluding, Brooks believes that a certain confusion arose among those who give the sobriquet to Constantine IV since to them Constantine III was known as "Constans".²⁴ The official name of Constantine had been forgotten and consequently the name Constantine Pogonatus was believed to have belonged to his son. This interpretation by Brooks has become generally accepted by many contemporary historians.²⁵

To support his argument further, Brooks could have added the evidence of contemporary sources. Thus in the "Life of the

21. Brooks, Who Was Constantine Pogonatus, in B.Z.

22. They wrote in about the 9th Century. The first records the events that took place from 602-769, the second from 284-813, and the third brings his history to the year 842.

23. Sabatier, Monnaies byzantines, II, 1-4; Grabar, op. cit.

24. Leo the Grammarian, Cedrenus, Manasses, Zonaras, Glycas, Joel, Euphraemius, Theodosius of Melitene, Nicolaos Callistos Xanthopoulos, Anonymus Synopsis of Sathas.

25. Vasiliev, Histoire, etc., I, 255-256; Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 102. The latter has written a special study in a Serbian journal of 1952-3 which I have been unable to locate.

most holy ... Martin, etc.”, the following is recorded: “He lived ... in the reign of Constantine the so-called Pogonatus, grandson of Heraclius ... and which Constantine was slain ... in Sicily ...” The life of St. Martin was, according to its editor P. Peeters,²⁶ written, or the text that has survived, had been corrected some time between 730 and 740. Hence, though the narrative is not really contemporary with the events, it is at least sufficiently soon after the events. This is, after all, why the Emperor is referred to as Constantine and not Constans.

In the “Memorandum” containing the events covering the exile and the death of St. Martin, the following is recorded: “From whom was begot a certain Emperor, a grandson, by name Constantine whom some call Constans and others Pogonatus because of his large beard ...” This Vita according to the editor Devreesse²⁷ was written in 654. But the text that has survived is contained in a manuscript of the 10th Century. Hence the content of the “Vita” derives from a writer contemporary with the events.

There exist also various prayer-books and lives of saints recording that the bearer of the sobriquet Pogonatus was Constantine III. One such dealing with Maximus the Confessor says, “the martyrdom of ... who during the reign of Constantine surnamed Pogonatus, grandson of Heraclius ...”²⁸

In a letter of Pope Agathon²⁹ addressed to “... the son of Constantine Pogonatus, father of Justinian Rhinotmetus ...”, it appears that in the age of Agathon the appellation of Pogonatus for Constantine III was commonly known. Certainly the reference to “Rhinotmetus” leads us to the conclusion that the letter is apocryphal since the slitting of Justinian’s nose occurred many years after the death of Agathon.

I believe that in the light of the above evidence there can no longer be any doubt that “Pogonatus” was none other than Constantine III.

3

Soon after ascending the throne as sole Emperor, Constantine

26. P. Peeters, *Une vie grecque*, etc.

27. R. Devréesse, *Le texte grec*, etc., de Theodore Spoudis, etc.

28. In Migne, P.G., XC, pp. 209 f.

29. Mansi, XI, 187-188, Ex libello Synodico.

addressed his gratitude to the Senate for having deposed his uncle Heraclius II and expelling Martina. Theophanes gives the entire text of this acknowledgement.³⁰ He begins with the condemnation of Martina as being responsible for the death of his father Constantine II, and maintains that Martina acted thus in the interests of her son who "was illicitly born of her and Heraclius", and for which the Senate "justifiably dethroned him to avoid the contamination of the Roman Empire." In other words, Constantine officially recognized the accusations against Martina of the poisoning of his father. But he did not believe in the guilt of Pyrrhus as did many chroniclers who accuse him as an accomplice. At the end, Constantine seeks the advice and the cooperation of the Senators for "the mutual salvation of our subjects". He had sent many royal gifts to the Senators.³¹

It is certain that Constantine was yet too young to rule the Empire alone. But we have no information whatsoever on who advised him or the names of those who governed on his behalf.

There is little doubt that in this difficult period the Senate which had played such a prominent part in deposing Heraclius II and exiling Martina had also increased its power.³² And since Constantine III was placed in its guardianship and turned to it for advice, the Senate emerged as one of the primary agencies of power. Gradually a certain practice arose of the Emperor consulting with the august body before making any political decisions.³³

Yet Constantine, like so many of the dynasty of Heraclius, was authoritative and imperious. As he grew into maturity, he soon shed the powerful influence of the Senate and of the military who had taken advantage of the troubled times to become a very influential force in the administration of the Empire.

30. Theophanes, p. 342.

31. Theophanes, p. 342; Cedrenus, p. 754; Leo the Grammarian, p. 157; Theodosius Melitene, p. 108. According to Theophanes, the proclamation to the Senate took place in the year 6134, therefore after the end of March 642. Theophanes treats this year as the first year of Constans, which in fact it was, because irrespective of whether the years commence from the time he was crowned as co-Emperor, and therefore at the end of September 641, Constantine was sole monarch in early 642.

32. Diehl, *Le Sénat*, etc.; Lécivain, *Le Sénat Romain*, etc.; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Finlay, *A History*, etc., I, 374.

Constantine supported the Blue faction. The Greens had remained loyal to Martina and Heraclius II, hence the Blue faction was outspokenly active in the first mutiny that compelled Heraclius II to crown as co-Emperor the youthful Constantine. In the reign of Heraclius I, participation of the Demes in the political life of the Empire had ceased. But with the death of Heraclius I, passions were again enflamed and many riots took place in which the factions were most active.³⁴ The Blues of which the Senate and most of the aristocracy of Byzantium were members, played a primary role throughout this troublesome period and in this movement.³⁵ Subsequently, however, Constantine practiced an identical policy with that of his grandfather Heraclius by ceasing to favor the Blues, expressly forbidding the participation of the Demes in the political life of the Empire. He had even reached the point of having an inscription favouring the Blues on the walls of Constantinople erased.³⁶ As a rule, when he finally assumed the reigns of power, he appears to have favored no faction, for we have no record of any action on the part of Constantine in his subsequent policy that would indicate support for one or the other of the Demes.

Constantine became consul in 642. His consulship was calculated from the first of January 642 since he was made co-Emperor at the end of September 641, and this independently of when he became sole Emperor. He was the last Emperor to fulfil the consulship as an official function of the civil calendar year.³⁷

4

As one would expect, in this very troubled period, many mutinies, rebellions, uprisings, conspiracies, and so on took place. The ambitions of several individuals were stirred, and taking advantage of the prevailing

33. Dvornik, *The Circus Parties*, etc.

34. See Volume II, pp. 192 f., and pp. 201-203.

35. Dvornik, *op. cit.*; Grégoire, *Notules épigraphiques*; Bréhier, *Le monde byzantin*, p. 200.

36. Grégoire, *op. cit.*

37. Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Regesta*, etc. For the year 642-643, the 1st Indiction (September 642 - August 643), he writes the 2nd year of Constantine's reign, and the first consulship; Stein, *Post-Consulat*, etc., pp. 895 f.; Guiland, *Etudes sur l'histoire Administrative*, etc. *Le Consul*.

abnormal conditions, they sought to exploit these to better their positions or to promote the interests of others on whose behalf they acted.

One of the most difficult matters to unravel is the role of Valentine. As I wrote in Volume II,³⁸ Valentine who served as adjutant to Philagrius, principle adviser to Constantine II, was appointed by the latter as commander of the army of the East.³⁹ While in this capacity, he rebelled and marched in the direction of Constantinople in early September 641, then encamped at Chalcedon, forcing Martina to crown the son of Constantine II as co-Emperor. Following various negotiations, agreement was reached between Martina, who in effect held the reigns of power in the capital, and Valentine. The latter was appointed Count of the Excubitors,⁴⁰ and as generalissimo of the army marched to the Eastern frontier. So conflicting are the sources dealing with the Valentine incident, that one cannot decipher what precise developments occurred subsequently. Theophanes himself makes two references to Valentine. On page 341 he records that the Senate "ejected ... Martina and Valentine", and on page 343, that is three years later, he reports that the latter mutinued against Constans who slew him.⁴¹ To avoid burdening the text overly much I will discuss in Historical Note II the contents of the Sources and here I shall limit myself to what I believe actually happened on the basis of course of the extant sources now available.

Many individuals suspected that Valentine had ambitions of occupying the imperial throne, although he himself protested that his actions were taken to support the rightful heirs, the children of Constantine II. Yet unquestionably in this unsettled period, the ambitions of certain

38. See Volume II, pp. 180 f., 181, 199.

39. Sébèos, p. 103; Caetani, *Annali*, IV, 344. The "generalissimo of the army of the East" is incomprehensible. Had the Anatolikon theme been already established, and was Valentine appointed head of this theme, who in any case bears the title "patricius and strategus"? Or was he made generalissimo of the army that defended the frontier against the Arabs? Or is it the old name of *Magister militum per Orientem*, in which case would indicate that the Anatolikon theme had not yet been established?

40. Nicephorus, p. 31. The title was one of the most exalted of the Byzantine court. The imperial guard consisted of the Excubitors and the Scholae. A Count was in charge of the former, and the Domesticus headed the Scholae.

41. Theophanes, p. 342, "he slew him".

people tended to soar. The Empire was ruled on behalf of the young heirs, and primarily by Martina, who was abhorred by the aristocracy, the clergy, the army, and a majority of the populace. Valentine was commander of a large army corps. There is no doubt that he was aware of the conspiracy that was afoot in Constantinople, the purpose of which was to dethrone Heraclius II and exile Martina. It is my considered opinion that Valentine would certainly have exploited the opportunity at hand to play an active part in the conspiracy. As generalissimo of the armies of the East, he had up to that moment no notable success, nor would he help the Byzantine forces in Egypt.⁴² I rather doubt if he even made any serious attempt to do so.

Valentine participated in the rebellion⁴³ and succeeded in imposing his terms. He also attempted to become co-Emperor. However, since the revolt had become widespread and there existed the risk of being arrested and executed,⁴⁴ he contented himself with the title of Caesar, and it is reputed that he gave his daughter as wife to Constantine III.⁴⁵ It is rather odd that only very few, yet very reliable, sources record that Valentine wore the purple or imperial robe.⁴⁶

In early 642 Valentine had gone to the extremities of Asia Minor to campaign against the Arabs,⁴⁷ but the date of his return to Constantinople and the assumption of his new duties is unknown. It appears that so harsh and tyrannical was his rule that the population rebelled against him. But Sébéos, who is more or less a contemporary, describes the incidents

42. John of Nikiu, p. 583.

43. Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 392.

44. John of Nikiu, p. 582.

45. These events are all recorded by John of Nikiu. But it is difficult to accept the marriage of Constantine III to the daughter of Valentine. It is true that Valentine the Arsacid was a member of a famous Armenian family, but Constantine was then only 12 years of age. In view of the fact that a few years later, in 644 or 645, Valentine had again rebelled, but was executed as a result, the question arises as to why this marriage was not annulled, a marriage which in all probability had never been consummated. For these reasons I rather suspect the veracity of this story. Unless of course the family of Valentine was in fact of great reputation, its connections very powerful, and the advisers of Constantine, even after the execution of Valentine, had not wished to clash with the great families of Armenia.

46. Mansi, X, 856; Grégoire, *Notules épigraphiques*, etc.; Bréhier, *Le démembrement*, etc., 152; Lebeau, X, 305-306 and footnote 1, p. 305.

47. See Chapter II, part 2.

otherwise. According to this source⁴⁸ Valentine had wished to ascend the very throne itself. He imposed harsh and unbearable measures against the residents of the capital, and to protest against these measures the populace gathered in the church of St. Sophia and beseeched the Patriarch to intercede with Valentine to lighten the oppressive measures. The general Antonios arrived at the scene and arrested the ringleaders of the protesting crowd and had them publicly scourged. To the vigorous protestations of the Patriarch, the enraged Antoninos responded by assaulting and slapping him. The frenetic mob then seized Antonios and burned him at the stake in the center of the city. Next it directed its anger against the palace where it seized Valentine and decapitated him. In his place, as head of the army, Theodore,⁴⁹ one of the loyal Armenian princes, was chosen.

Unfortunately, the Sébéos narrative lacks historical and chronological consistency. It speaks of a second year of the reign of Constantine and relates that after Valentine was put to death they elevated ... Constantine to the throne. Further in the narrative, it speaks of events that took place in about 645.

I believe that Valentine was slain in 644 or 645.⁵⁰ It should be noted that Constantine was then about 14 years of age.

In this highly tense period when a youthful sovereign sat on the throne, one would expect that many of the senior officers and government officials strove to strengthen their hold and influence over the administration and even went so far as to seek more autonomy and independence from the central authority.

48. Sébéos, p. 105. I say, "according to this source", since there exists some doubt as to whether the text which was found and ascribed to Sébéos is in fact the actual text or a later chronicle that used Sébéos as one of its sources. See further, Volume II, p. 8.

49. Since this source refers to Theodore as an Armenian in the service of the Byzantine army, I presume it is the Theodore who was newly appointed or had been the commander of the Armeniakon theme. He cannot possibly be confused with Theodore Rstuni who was commander of the army of the former Persian Armenia. At all events, Nikiu, p. 580, also refers to Theodore as the commander of the army of Cappadocia. See also volume II of this history, pp. 219-220.

50. Brooks, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-393; Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 152; Muralt, *Essai de Chronographie*, etc., I, for the year 644; Caetani, *Chronographia*, III, 283, for the 24th year of the Hegira, i.e., 644-645 and after the death of Omar, hence after November of 644; Lebeau, XI, 306; Nersessian, *Armenia*, etc., p. 18.

A narration of the subversive activities of the Armenians is difficult. Although their native land was in mortal danger, they never ceased their conspiratorial activities or revolutions against the imperial authority.

As I have related in the second volume, various Armenian leaders had been involved in the conspiracy against Heraclius I and were sent into exile as a result. Sébéos records that Heraclius, before his death, had requested of his son Constantine II the recall of the exiles from banishment.⁵¹ At all events, neither Constantine II nor Heraclius II had fulfilled this wish. And the date of the lifting of the banishment as well as the return to Constantinople of the former marzpan (governor) of Persian Armenia Varastirosz Bagratuni together with his family is not known. As usual, the sources are contradictory.⁵² It is my impression that Varastirosz Bagratuni returned from exile following the persistent entreaties of Narses, the Catholicos of Armenia, in 642-643 and Theodore Rstuni who had been recently appointed as commander of the Armenian forces of the former Persian Armenia. Sbat, son of Varastirosz, was appointed protospatharios. But when, in 645, Theodore Rstuni was apprehended and brought to Constantinople, Varastirosz decided to act.⁵³ Secretly and in disguise he left the capital and returned to Armenia. With his arrival the entire country broke out in rebellion. All the princes of Armenia sent the Catholicos (the Patriarch) Narses to him with the proposal that if he wished to become governor again, he should swear an oath of loyalty to Byzantium. At the intervention of Theodore, commander of the Armeniakon theme and the insistence of Narses, the administration, once having received the oath of loyalty from Varastirosz, gave him the title of curopalates and prince of former

51. Sébéos, pp. 99-100. See Volume II, p. 181.

52. Sébéos states that the revocation took place following the intervention of the new commander of the Armeniakon theme Theodore after the mutiny of Valentine had been crushed and Valentine put to death. Hence these events occurred in 644 or 645. Yet the Sébéos source writes the second year of the reign of Constantine, therefore, 642-643. It also says that the annulment of banishment took place after the entreaty of the Catholicos Narses, consequently, after 642. But I believe that this concerns two events that have been confused by the identical names of Theodore, commander of the Armeniakon theme and Theodore Rstuni. See also Chapter II, part 1.

53. Sébéos, p. 106.

Persian Armenia.⁵⁴ But Varastirosz died in about the same year and in his place his son Sbat Bagratuni was appointed. Manandian disagrees with this interpretation of events and maintains, and I think correctly, that Sbat was not appointed curopalates, but was merely recognized as the leader of the Bagratid clan.⁵⁵

The conspiracies of the Armenians did not cease and continued into the later years. But besides the troublesome Armenians, Constantine III had to face in 647 an open rebellion on the part of his uncle Gregory, Exarch of Africa, the revolt in 650 of Olympios, the Exarch of Italy, and lastly, the conspiracies of his brother Theodosios. These uprisings will be dealt with in the following chapters.

54. Sébèos, pp. 107-108; John Catholicos, pp. 69-70; Vardan, p. 86; Manandian, *Les Invasions Arabes*, etc.; Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, pp. 293-299.

55. Sébèos, p. 108; Vardan, p. 86; Manandian, *Les Invasions*, etc., pp. 193 f.

CHAPTER II

WAR WITH THE ARABS (641-655)

It is indeed very difficult to relate with certain accuracy the campaigns and the wars that were waged between Arab and Byzantine in this period. I will not return to the problem of the sources and the difficulties that these present. Each group of sources is based on the particular tradition to which it adheres. There exists no single contemporary source, except perhaps that of Sébéos, to which we can refer as some kind of basis with any confidence.

Following the occupation of Mesopotamia (639-640), the Arabs attempted to organize their conquests systematically. Iyad⁵⁶ was appointed governor of Mesopotamia. Upon the death from the plague of Abu Ubaydah and Yiazid ibn Sufyan who had been first governors of Syria, Muawiyah ibn Sufyan, the brother of Yiazid became the general governor of all occupied territories, except Egypt. He was son of the former leader of the great tribe of the Qurayshites of Mecca who had been initially the leading foe of Mohammed. Muawiyah had once served as secretary to the prophet, then subsequently took part in many battles during the conquest of Syria. To him was given the credit of occupying the entire coastal region and especially Caesaria, the powerful fortress of Palestine.

Muawiyah was young, of great intelligence, cunning, daring, and of courageous mien. Endowed with a military genius, as his campaigns showed, he possessed especially great political and administrative talents. He had repeatedly argued for the need of a naval force, but was always met with the obdurate opposition of Umar, the second Caliph.

He retained intact in Syria all the administrative and tax records and books that had been kept by the Byzantines to avoid confusion in the transitional period. These were kept in the Greek tongue as hitherto. Muawiyah soon minted coinage so necessary for the normal functioning

56. Iyad ben Ghanm, was the first Arab to cross the Euphrates to begin the conquest of Mesopotamia in August 639. See Volume II, Chapter IV.

of the administration and of commerce in the area. Not yet in the position to mint new kinds of money, due to the inexperience in such matters, the coins that issued from the mints of Antioch and Damascus contained on the obverse the head of Heraclius I and on the reverse the monogram of Christ.⁵⁷ Later, in the 23rd year of the Hegira, bronze coins were cut in Damascus with the head of the Emperor Constantine.⁵⁸

Syria was organized into two Djunds,⁵⁹ that of Damascus and Emesa.

To control the discipline and maintain the military virtues of the army, Muawiyah was forced to keep his forces continually on the move.⁶⁰ Once he established the security of his province, he planned yearly incursions into Byzantine territory.⁶¹ It is true that this was not the sole reason for the forays, since the *razzia* was still the favorite pastime of the Arabs and an important element of their nature.⁶² Moreover, these *razzias* or plundering raids, were necessary not only to enrich the warriors themselves but to replenish the common treasury of the Arabs on which a vast number in Medina, practically the entire ruling class, depended. One fifth of the booty was allotted by tradition to the Caliph. A further reason for the yearly incursions was to impede or disrupt the defensive measures of the Byzantines and thus to diminish the dangers of counter-attacks. Of course, whenever they could, the Arabs extended their dominion over the territories that they had initially marked out for looting only.

The Byzantine Empire was now ruled by a boy of 12 years of age. It was imperative that urgent measures be taken to meet the pressing Arab threat. To this end, the Anatolikon theme had been strengthened

57. Dussaud, *Le Pénétration Arabe en Syrie*, etc., p. 148.

58. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, p. 261.

59. The Djund or Jund was a military district in which Arab garrisons were stationed. Tradition says that this organization was first made by the Caliph Abu Bakr. As I have stated in Volume II, this tradition is incorrect. Abu Bakr had died when the Arab invasions still possessed the nature of *razzias*. Consequently, he had been dead before the actual occupation took place and even before the Arabs began thinking of permanent conquest.

60. Gibb, *Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate*.

61. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber usw.*, p. 414.

62. See Volume II, Chapter II.

and with time began to play a vital part in the defence of Asia Minor against the Muslims. However, the intrigues centring round the imperial throne impeded timely defensive measures and provided the Arabs with many opportunities to invade imperial territory with impunity. Moreover, due to the abnormal situation existing in Constantinople, the Byzantines never took advantage of their control of the seas and the inability of the Arabs to defend their exposed littoral from attacks by the imperial fleet.

In this chapter I shall deal with the wars and the campaigns of Byzantine and Arab up to the year 656 when, thanks only to the internal strife of the Arabs, all military operations ceased.

1

The situation in Armenia, the natural bastion of Byzantium, has been described in the first volume. This nation played a vital role in the trade of the Empire, for it was through Armenia that most of the precious merchandises from India, China and the East⁶³ passed. The country was also a primary source of gold for the imperial mints since numerous and rich deposits existed in the region.

For several centuries Armenia had been a bone of contention between Byzantium and Persia, the feudal system of which perpetually created problems for the occupying power. Armenia was too weak to defend herself when confronted by vigorous invaders. As Sébéos so succinctly put it, the disputations and rivalry of the nobility and the feudal barons were the primary cause for the destruction and final collapse of Armenia as an independent country.

It was to the interest of the Persian court that such feudal anarchy be cultivated and perpetuated, for control of the region was thus easily maintained through the expedient of playing one faction against the other.⁶⁴ On the other hand, the traditional policy of Byzantium was such that it precluded the incorporation of the rebellious but proud Armenian nation in the Empire. The foremost obstacle was the obsession of the ecclesiastics to bring the Armenian church into line with

63. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*, etc., p. 78.

64. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, p. 289.

their tenets and to impose their control over that church. Such a policy impeded the integration or the assimilation of the country with the Empire.

Soon after the fall of Persia, Armenia turned to Byzantium.⁶⁵ Initially, Varastirosz, son of Sbat Bagratuni⁶⁶ who had been appointed governor of Persian Armenia by Kavadh, son of Chosroes II, had, when the Arabs invaded Persia, affiliated himself with the Empire and eventually fled to Constantinople.⁶⁷ But there he was involved in the plot against Heraclius (see Chapter VII, Volume II), and was exiled to Africa.⁶⁸ A few months later, and in his stead, Heraclius I was forced to appoint David Zacharuni,⁶⁹ also former Marzpan of Armenia in the reign of Chosroes II, to whom he gave the title of Curopalates. He governed what was formerly Persian Armenia for three years, as all the sources agree. But he clashed with the various local magnates who succeeded finally in expelling him.⁷⁰

The Catholicos⁷¹ of Armenia was then Ezdras. All records indicate that he held the seat for ten years. But in actual fact, he died in 642.⁷² Narses or Nerses III was elected his successor. Due to the existing situation created by the Arab incursions, Narses requested the return of Varastirosz Bagratuni and the appointment of Theodore Rstuni as

65. Macler, *Armenia*, in C.M.H., Vol. IV, p. 155.

66. The Bagratids were one of the oldest and most exalted families of Armenia, the leader of which from as early as the 2nd Century was next to the king in rank and bore the title of general. See Laurent, *L'Arménie*, etc., p. 85.

67. John Catholicos, p. 69; Saint-Martin, *Mémoires Historiques*, etc., p. 335.

68. Sébèos, p. 93.

69. Sébèos, p. 94; Toumanoff, in C.M.H., Vol. IV (new ed.), p. 605.

70. Sébèos, *op. cit.*

71. The Catholicos was Patriarch and head of the Armenian church. It should be pointed out again that the Armenian church did not recognize the canons of the Chalcedon Council and had retained its Monophysitic tenets.

72. *De Rebus Armeniae*, p. 405, and footnotes of Garitte on pp. 338 and 432; Peeters, *La Version Arménienne de l'historien Socrate*; Dulaurier, in ed. of Açoghig de Daron, p. 191. The date cited herein (628-640) is incorrect. Ezdras was elected in 630. See also Volume I of this history. Lequien, I, 1387, says 10 years. Tournebize, in D.H.G.E., Vol. IV; L. Petit, in *Histoire*, etc., Vol. I, pp. 1888 f, and Ormanian, *L'Eglise Arménienne*, all write 630-641.

generalissimo of the Armenian military forces.⁷³

Constantine III, or rather his advisers, for the monarch was but 12 years of age, agreed with these proposals of the Catholicos. The precise date of the return from exile of Varastirosz Bagratuni is not known. The sources in this instance and on many other points are contradictory. Some record that Narses requested the return of Varastirosz. Other sources say that the new strategos of the Armeniakon theme, Theodore, himself an Armenian but not to be confused with Theodore Rstuni,⁷⁴ had requested this. At all events, Varastirosz, after his return from exile to Constantinople, fled secretly back to Armenia despite the explicit prohibition of the Byzantine court. Once in Armenia where he was unanimously accepted as governor, the palace was compelled to recognize the *fait accompli*.⁷⁵

Regarding the Arab invasions of Armenia and the Byzantine and Armenian confrontation of these, there is much conflicting information and this of doubtful authenticity. There are unfortunately no Greek sources that are reliable. For example, Theophanes supplies the information that in the year 6143 (A.D. 651-652), the 10th year of the reign of Constantine (650-651), and the 6th of Uthman (649-650) the third Caliph, Pasagnathis (?), patricius of the Armenians, rebelled and joined forces with Muawiyah. When Constantine learned of this, he moved with an army to Caesarea in Cappadocia, but there became disillusioned and returned to Constantinople.⁷⁶ This information, as Peeters showed, is a complete fabrication. There was no such person as Pasagnathis, nor did any rebellion occur at the time.

Armenian and Arab sources on the other hand provide considerable enlightenment and many details of these incursions but are contra-

73. The Rstuni (Rechtouni) family was one of the oldest Armenian families, and possessed most of the land round Lake Van and in the large province of Vaspurakan. See Acoghig de Daron, French ed., p. 120, German ed., p. 63; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, etc., p. 89.

74. In this period there existed many Armenian princes or generals who bore the name Theodore. Some scholars (Kulakovski III, 191; Marquart, *Osteuropäische usw.*, p. 340, etc.) confuse the several Theodores and argue that one and the same person are involved, despite the distinction made by the Sébèos source. See also Manandian, *Les Invasions Arabes*, etc.

75. Sébèos, pp. 108 f.; John Catholicos, p. 73.

76. Theophanes, p. 344. Agapius repeats the same, p. 222, as does the Andrea Dandolo source, p. 119 (98).

dictory concerning the dates. As H. Manandian has pointed out, although this period of Armenian history had been studied in great detail, most of the questions have remained unanswered.⁷⁷

Arab sources are not contemporary with the events. These depend for the most part on oral tradition. Hence many questions arise, particularly of chronology.⁷⁸ Nor are the Armenian and Syrian sources contemporary with the events. To this fact should be added the highly imaginative narrative talent of Eastern chroniclers. The only serious source is the history of Bishop Sébéos who was a contemporary, for his chronicle was composed in the second half of the 7th Century, but in this instance also, irrespective of the exaggerations and the inaccuracies it contains, the text itself which is the only that has survived is corrupt and its authenticity is today disputed.⁷⁹

The two scholars who have explored these questions in great depth are J. Laurent⁸⁰ and H. Manandian.⁸¹ Yet they disagree with regard to the chronology. Having carefully examined the evidence at hand and studied the texts, I have reached certain conclusions.

Some of the questions should be clarified. No invasion of Armenia by the Arabs could have been possible without the occupation of Mesopotamia which flanks Armenia.⁸² The incursion into Mesopotamia by the forces under Iyad ibn Ghanm began, according to Wakidi, in August 639,⁸³ and at least a year was needed to subdue the country completely. Before the end of 640 therefore, no invasion of Armenia would have been feasible. On the basis of this deduction, the chronol-

77. H. Manandian, *Les Invasions Arabes en Arménie*.

78. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, VII, pp. 78 f.

79. It is today generally agreed that the text which has survived is not the authentic history of Sébéos, but an agglomeration of texts with the Sébéos history as the main body, and was compiled subsequently by a certain Xosrov or Xosrovik. See Chapter I of Volume II. For the convenience of the reader, however, I will continue to refer to it as the Sébéos source.

80. J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*.

81. H. Manandian, *op. cit.*

82. It could be argued that the invasion of Armenia was made through Atropatene Medea (Azerbaijan). But this region would have to be occupied. The occupation in fact began after the battle of Nihavent in 642 when the Persians were crushed.

83. See Chapter IV of Volume II.

ogies of both Lebeau⁸⁴ and Saint-Martin⁸⁵ which had been accepted also by other scholars must be rejected. Also the interpretation of Manandian, which tends today to be universally accepted,⁸⁶ and with which I will deal later, is mistaken.

Since we must of necessity rely primarily upon the Sébéos source, which Manandian himself suggests, then we should examine the text with care even though it is corrupt. In accordance with this source, following the death of Heraclius and the accession to the throne of his son Constantine II, no generalissimo was appointed in Armenia because the "isxans" (princes or barons) were divided. The governor, David Zacharuni, was expelled after the death of Constantine II.⁸⁷ Also on the basis of the Sébéos text, the first incursion of the Arabs into Armenia took place after the death of Heraclius, and therefore no earlier than the second quarter of 641. These facts emerge from the Sébéos narrative.

According to Arab tradition, the first invasion of Armenia occurred immediately after the conquest of Mesopotamia. Iyad captured Amida and Martyropolis, and in the 20th year of the Hegira (December 21, 640 - December 9, 641), probably in early 641, Iyad (Baladhuri) or Uthman ibn Abi-l-As (Tabari and Ibn al-Athir) entered Armenia for the first time, conquered the city of Arzan,⁸⁸ advanced through the Bitlis-Tschai pass and took Bitlis.⁸⁹ All the leaders in the area paid obeisance to the invaders and agreed to the payment of tribute money. This entire

84. Lebeau-St. Martin, *Histoire*, etc., XI, 334 f.

85. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires Historiques*, etc., I, 336 f.

86. Manandian, *op. cit.*; Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, p. 102; Lemerle, *Quelques remarques sur le règne d'Heraclius*; Canard, *Armeniya*, in *E.I.* (new. ed.), Vol. I, pp. 656 f.

87. It is said that David governed the former Persian Armenia for three years, hence 638-641. But he is reported as having campaigned with Valentin against the Arabs (Michael the Syrian, II, 443; Anonymous Chronicle of the year 1234, pp. 201 f.; Abul Faradj, p. 234). If these sources are correct, then David Zacharouni was governor of Armenia for more than three years, in spite of the Sébéos history (p. 94). It should be pointed out that all the sources (Vardan, pp. 83 & 86; Açoghig de Daron, French ed., p. 120, German ed., p. 63; Kiracos de Gantzac, p. 29, etc.) state that Theodore Rstuni succeeded David Zacharouni.

88. City of Armenia on the Arzansu River, a tributary of the Tigris. See also *E.I.* (new ed.), Vol. I, p. 700.

89. Bitlis or Bidlis, town on the Bitlis River, a tributary of the Tigris. See entry in *E.I.* (new ed.), Vol. I, p. 1242.

expedition was in the form of a *razzia* and once having taken much loot, the Arabs withdrew from the heart of Armenia.⁹⁰ Manandian does not accept the authenticity of this raid since the Sébéos source makes no reference to it. But I should like to point out that the expedition is recorded, albeit in somewhat garbled form, by John Mamikonian and in the history of Saint Narses. As usual, the chronology of the Armenians bears no relationship with reality.

Towards the end of the summer of 642, a strong force of Arab troops marched out of Mesopotamia,⁹¹ entered Armenian territory along the "Dzor" route in the direction of Taron west of Lake Van. But "Dzor" signifies pass, hence it must refer to the valley and the passes west of Lake Van. The Arabs who were led, according to one tradition, by Habib ibn-Maslama,⁹² pillaged the area, dissolved the small Armenian forces, then moved in an easterly direction, plundered the region of Peznounik (Bznounik) and Aliovid (Aghiovid), north of Lake Van, then entered Vaspurakan.⁹³

Theodore Rstuni had been informed of the invasion and the direction of the attacking army, and quickly assembled what scattered forces were available, for the Armenians could not reach accord even when confronted by a national crisis. He occupied the mountain passes, and guarded the crossing of the Araxes River near the town of Naxkavan.⁹⁴ But the Arabs switched their advance northwards and marched against Dwin,⁹⁵ capital city of former Persian Armenia, through the Kogovit⁹⁶

90. Filler, *Quaestiones de Leontii*, etc., p. 9; Laurent, *op. cit.*, p. 90; Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der Arabischen Herrschaft*, p. 16. See also Canard, *Armeniya*, in *E.I.* (new ed.), Vol. I, pp. 656 f.

91. The Sébéos source says, "Azorestan", that is, Assyria (Iraq), but the direction in which the troops moved precludes acceptance of the tradition, since it conflicts with the geographical facts.

92. Abul Faraj Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography*, p. 97; Sébéos, p. 100.

93. Vaspurakan, one of the fifteen large provinces of Armenia which today is shared between Turkey and Persia.

94. Ghevond, *Histoire*, etc., p. 8; Sébéos, p. 100.

95. Dwin, capital of the Armenian kingdom in the age of the Arsacides. It was the home seat of the governor (*marzpan*) and the Armenian Catholicos. It lies to the north of the city of Ardasad and on the Metzamor River, a southern branch of the Araxes.

96. Kogovit, region in the province of Ararat, south of the river Araxes.

region. They were guided over the river crossings by a renegade Armenian prince.

The male population that had been concentrated in the area for the harvesting fled into Dwin. But the Arabs succeeded in penetrating the defences by general assault, captured the city, slew 12,000 men, and seized 35,000 women and children for the slave markets of the East.⁹⁷

The fall of Dwin took place on October 6, 642, a date established by Dulaurier.⁹⁸ The date maintained by Kulakovski (A.D. 647) is rejected by all scholars.⁹⁹ Manandian repudiates the chronology of Dulaurier and argues that the occupation of Dwin occurred on October 6, 640. Although reputable Byzantinists support the dating of Manandian, I cannot accept it since it conflicts with the established fact that no actual invasion of Armenia took place before the early months of 641 (see Note III).

When Theodore Rstuni learned of the occupation and despoliation of Dwin, he laid an ambush for the withdrawing Arabs in the Kogovit area, but he had available only a small number of men. Nevertheless, he fell upon the enemy but was defeated with great loss to his small force and was forced to flee.¹⁰⁰ Following the intervention of Narses III, Catholicos of Armenia (642-661/662), the Byzantines appointed as commander in chief of the Armenian contingents in early 643¹⁰¹ Theodore Rstuni to whom was given the title of patricius.

After the battle of Nihavent (642), the Arabs returned to Armenia through Atropatene Medea, hence in about 643-644.¹⁰² They depredated

97. Sébèos, pp. 100-101; John Catholicos, p. 71; Açoğhig de Daron, French ed., p. 152, German ed., p. 87; Vardan, p. 83; Kirakos de Gantzac, p. 31; Ghevond, p. 8.

98. Dulaurier, *Recherches*, etc., p. 231; Garitte, in *De Rebus Armeniae*, p. 301; Caetani, *Annali*, V, 512 f.; Filler, *Quaestiones*, etc., p. 10; Marçais, *Le Monde Oriental*, p. 193; Peeters, "Pasagnathes", etc.; Becker, in *C.M.H.*, II, 353; Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, p. 296; Bréhier, *Le Démembrement*, etc., p. 156; Tournebize, *Histoire Politique*, etc., p. 96; Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, I, 636; Ghazarian, *op. cit.*, p. 28; Zakythinos, *Byzantium*, etc., p. 88; Lynch, *Armenia*, etc., I, 338.

99. Kulakovski, *Byzantine History*, III, 190.

100. Sébèos, p. 101; Açoğhig de Daron, p. 152.

101. Garitte, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

102. Denys de Tell-Mahré, p. 7, and for the year 955 (A.D. 644). Sébèos dates this invasion in the second year of Constantine (642-643).

the eastern provinces of Armenia, but were repulsed with great losses without being able to capture any populous towns. The strategos Procopios had in the meantime arrived with imperial troops to aid the Armenians. But he could not reach any understanding with Theodore Rstuni. According to Armenian sources, Procopios was deserted by the Armenians and suffered a serious defeat. One tradition of the Armenian chroniclers states that the Byzantines were betrayed by the Armenians or were deserted by them. When precisely this took place is unknown, since each Armenian historian dates the event in a different period. At all events, this could not have occurred between the years 650 and 653 at which time a truce existed with the Arabs, nor between the years 645-649 when Theodore Rstuni was in Constantinople. According to Manandian this occurred in 642. On the basis of the Sébéos source, Theodore Rstuni was arrested on charges of treason and was sent to Constantinople in chains. But the entire incident smacks of myth. One fact is clear, however. Theodore had fallen out of grace and had spent some time in the capital before his titles were restored and he was sent back to Armenia. But this happened after the death of Varastirosz Bagratuni, hence after 645.¹⁰³ According to Manandian he did not return before 649. Theodore's return to Armenia was not well received by many of the local leaders.

There exists the information in Arab sources¹⁰⁴ that a new major invasion by the Muslims occurred between 645 and 649. I believe in agreement with Manandian that this refers to the great Arab incursion that took place after 654. At any rate, no invasion occurred between 650 and 653, firstly because of the existing truce between Byzantium and the Arabs, and secondly, due to the presence in Armenia of the Emperor Constantine with a large imperial army.

At some unspecified date, the Byzantines demanded of the Armenians a return to the canons of the Chalcedon Council and the abandonment of their Monophysitic ways. From information supplied by Sébéos, one can conjecture that Byzantine soldiery objected to Armenian accusations of being heretics.¹⁰⁵

103. Sébéos, p. 108; Vardan, p. 86.

104. Baladhuri, Hitti ed., p. 310; Baethgen, *Fragmente Syrischer usw.*, for the year 957 (A.D. 646) and the 25th year of the Hegira (645-646).

105. Sébéos, p. 112; Aqoghig de Daron, French ed., p. 121, German ed., p. 64.

In accord with the Patriarch, the Emperor issued a decree bidding the Armenians to unite ecclesiastically with Constantinople, but there exists some doubt as to when this was issued. According to Dölger¹⁰⁶ and Grumel it was promulgated in 650. But it is my belief that this date is incorrect. Upon receiving the imperial order, the Armenians summoned a synod of their church in Dwin in 649,¹⁰⁷ which was attended by all the *naxarars* (princes or leaders), by Theodore Rstuni, and an imperial delegate, one David, who attempted to persuade them to agree to the union. But the synod rejected any idea of union and the subjection of the church to Constantinople. Furthermore, it sent a memorandum to the Emperor protesting that a Christian prince had wished to abolish the faith of the Armenian nation while even the Persians, when in possession of their country, had never tampered with their church.¹⁰⁸ It was inevitable that this event brought a further deterioration of relationships between Byzantium and Armenia.

In the meanwhile, the Arabs made good use of the truce period with Byzantium to occupy the whole of Persia. Once the truce had expired, they understandably turned their attention once again to imperial territories. The Armenians believed the initial attack by the Arabs would be made against their country and they feared that the Byzantines would not be eager to assist them nor to help them usefully and particularly at the required time.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the Armenians had been sorely disturbed by the pressures of the Byzantines to impose an ecclesiastical union upon them, which strengthened their hostile disposition towards the Empire. Heading the hostile faction was Theodore Rstuni who could not easily have forgotten his arrest and journey in chains to Constantinople. To justify Theodore's actions, Armenian chroniclers write that upon seeing the rapid progress of the Arabs, he abandoned the Greeks.¹¹⁰

106. Dölger, *Regesten usw.*, No. 227; Grumel, *Actes des Patriarches*, p. 121, No. 301.

107. *De Rebus Armeniae*, p. 340 and para. 138; Sébèos, pp. 112 f.; Aĉoghig de Daron, p. 361. Saint Martin records that the synod took place in 648, but he appears to be mistaken, Also Petit and Ormanian support the year 645, but this is erroneous. Present at the synod was Rstuni, who as I have pointed out, was confined to Constantinople until about 649.

108. Aĉoghig de Daron, German ed., p. 64.

109. Peeters, "Pasagnathes", etc.

110. Aĉoghig de Daron, French ed., p. 120, German ed., p. 63.

Theodore Rstuni took the initiative to reach an agreement with Muawiyah by which his country would be subject to the Arabs and become free of Byzantine rule. He proceeded to Damascus alone where he met the Arab leader. The terms set by Muawiyah were not harsh. For seven years Armenia would not be liable for the capitulation tax.¹¹¹ The assembly of leaders (naxarars) accepted the conditions of Muawiyah and decided to send as hostages to the Arabs, Gregory Mamikonian and Sbat Bagratuni.¹¹² The problem remains concerning the date of the articles of surrender. It is my view that this happened at least 18 months before the expiry of the truce between the Arabs and Byzantium.¹¹³

The Byzantine authorities were enraged by the capitulation. They persuaded Constantine to act, and he advanced at the head of a large army as far as Caesarea¹¹⁴ whence he summoned the Armenian nobles to meet him at Theodosiopolis (Karin, Erzerum).¹¹⁵ In the meantime, a delegation sent by Muawiyah carried a letter from him protesting at the entrance of Byzantine troops into territory under arab suzerainty¹¹⁶ and in fact at a time when the truce was still in force between the two nations. Constantine rejected the protest with the argument that Armenia constituted an integral part of the Empire.

It is recorded that Constantine arrived in Theodosiopolis in the 12th year of his reign (652-653), and the 20th year of the Muslim domination.¹¹⁷ The chronology is mistaken. The most probable time of his

111. Sébèos, p. 133; Açoğhig de Daron, op. cit.; Vardan, p. 86.

112. Ghevond, p. 13.

113. Sébèos, p. 132, records the 12th year of Constantine, hence 652-653. Vardan writes the same. At all events, the agreement could not have been made after the expiry of the truce for the Arabs would not have protested that the Byzantines invaded "Arab territory".

114. Theophanes, p. 344; Agapius, p. 222; Vardan, p. 88; Sébèos, p. 134; John Catholicos, p. 74; Moses Dasxurançi, p. 118.

115. Sébèos, p. 134.

116. This is proof that the truce was still in force, otherwise Muawiyah could not have protested. The entrance of Byzantine troops into Arab territories or the contrary, was the normal practice in the period before the truce.

117. Macler, footnote 2, p. 134, in his edition of Sébèos, and Hübschmann, *Zur Geschichte*, unsw., mistakenly cite 653 as the date, for when did the Arabs actually dominate? The earliest possible date would be from the fall of Damascus (September, 635). Consequently the 20th year would be 654-655. But such dating has no connection with reality.

arrival there was towards the end of 651. Here also came various leaders such as Bagratuni, Mamikonian, and others, specially from the western Armenian provinces, as well as the Catholicos Narses. All unanimously held Theodore responsible for the capitulation. The latter had retreated to the well-fortified island of Althamar in Lake Van with his followers. All the nobles of the large Armenian provinces of Siunia and Albania had joined his faction.

Constantine removed all titles and imperial honors held by Theodore and other Armenian leaders. The successors and new holders of these offices were seized by Theodore when they had arrived to assume their duties.

There is on record an incident of treachery on the part of the Armenians that is cited mainly by Ghevond. Certain historians date the event in this period, but incorrectly so (see Note IV).

The Emperor had planned to spend the winter months in Armenia with the object of crushing the rebels. But various Armenian leaders, fearing lest the presence of such a large army (according to Sébéos, amounting to 100,000 (!) men), cause untold harm to the country, begged him to reduce the size of the force. Constantine accordingly with 20,000 troops proceeded through the Ararat country and reached Dwin where he billeted the imperial force,¹¹⁸ probably in early 652.¹¹⁹

The Emperor appointed as commander of the cavalry Musel Mamikonian and dispatched him with an army against the rebels who however refused to submit. As a consequence, the eastern provinces of Armenia, Siunia and Albania, were subjected to pillage on the part of the mixed Byzantine and Armenian soldiery.

Constantine forced upon the Catholicos Narses and the other Armenian bishops union with the church of Constantinople to "the disgrace and scandal of many."¹²⁰

Theodore Rstuni urgently requested reinforcements from Muawiyah, the dispatch of which had been foreseen by their agreement, but the Arab leader refused to send help, evidently because the truce had not yet expired, and he was not anxious to violate it.

118. Sébéos, p. 135; Aqoghig de Daron, p. 120.

119. Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 393.

120. Aqoghig de Daron, French ed., p. 121, German ed., p. 64; Sébéos, p. 136; Vardan, p. 89; John Catholicos, p. 75. Kulakovski, III, 204-205, dates this union in 653.

When informed of events in Thrace, about which more in Chapter VIII, Constantine III returned in haste to Constantinople. The strategos Morianos was put in command of a substantial army to recover, with the aid of loyal Armenians, the remnants of Armenia that were still under the control of Theodore Rstuni.¹²¹

To the repeated appeals of Theodore, Muawiyah, upon the expiry of the truce, sent reinforcements led by Habib ibn-Maslama.¹²² Habib, in conjunction with the forces of Theodore, laid siege to Dwin which soon surrendered. Morianos, however, succeeded in holding the Arabs, limiting their advance, and taking advantage of the oppressively cold weather, forced them to retreat to defensive positions in the area of Zarevant (Azerbaijan). Then he hastened back to Dwin, recaptured and pillaged the city, and proceeded to the town of Naxkavan which he besieged.¹²³

Habib in the meantime had received reinforcements, according to Baladhuri numbering 6,000 men, from Kufa under the command of Salman. With these additional contingents Habib was able to surprise the Byzantines, routing them in a bitterly contested engagement. Habib pursued the shattered forces of the army of Morianos almost as far as the Caucasus.¹²⁴ It is assumed that these operations which began in about the middle of 653, continued throughout 654¹²⁵ and 655. Armenia suffered incredible despoliation and loss of population. The united forces of Arabs and Armenians penetrated Byzantine territory as well. After a brief siege, Theodosiopolis (Karin, Erzerum) fell, and the entire region of Trebizond was ravaged. Siunia, Albania (Caucasian), and

121. Sébèos, p. 138; Aqoghig de Daron, p. 121; John Catholicos, p. 75. Theophanes refers to Morianos as Mavrianos. A seal of Morianos, probably of 653, has survived. See Mordtmann, *Sur les sceaux et les plombs*, etc., p. 32.

122. Theophanes, p. 345; Agapius, p. 223; Michael the Syrian, II, 441; Baladhuri, p. 312; Elie Bar Sinaya, p. 85.

123. Sébèos, p. 145.

124. Baladhuri relates that Habib slew Morianos. Theophanes, p. 345; Sébèos, p. 146.

125. Theophanes records from the Anno Mundi 6145 (A.D. 653-654), the 12th year of Constans (652-653), the 8th of Uthman (650-651), the first of Pyrrhus and Peter (654).

Georgia were also plundered. The invading enemy advanced as far as Tiflis and occupied that city.¹²⁶

The Arabs had in the meantime inundated the country and began to take hostages and sending them to Syria. Musel Mamikonian was forced to capitulate, since the Arabs had taken four of his children.¹²⁷ The Arabs soon began to suspect the ultimate intentions of Theodore Rstuni and sent him and his family to Syria where he died, according to St. Martin in 654, but according to *De Rebus Armeniae* (p. 342) in 656. After the death of Theodore, the Armenians chose as their prince Hamazasp Mamikonian, who, after the internecine strife that struck the Arabian world, and the murder of Uthman, joined forces with the Byzantines and brought Armenia into the imperial sphere of influence. It is reputed that following this action, the massacre of all hostages in Syria, amounting to 1775 in number, was carried out. But this information does not in my opinion seem wholly plausible, for Sébéos, the primary source, records that "all the hostages were slain", but speaks soon after this passage of those who had "survived".¹²⁸ Constantine recognized Hamazasp as prince and leader of the Armenians, bestowed upon him the title of Curopalates and sent him as a gift a silver throne.¹²⁹

2

Asia Minor was in all this period the very core of the Byzantine Empire. The imperial authorities therefore gave special consideration to the defence of the area. To facilitate defence, the Byzantines maintained the network of roads in good repair to allow for rapid troop movements. Moreover, numerous fortresses protected the border regions, and

126. Baladhuri, p. 318; John Catholicos, p. 76; Sébéos, p. 146; Vasiliev, *Notes on the History of Trebizond*; Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 453 f.; Manandian, *op. cit.*, Ghazarian, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 f.; Canard, in *E.I.*, Vol. I (new ed.), pp. 656 ff.; Grousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 301 ff.; Toumanoff, in *C.M.H.*, IV, 606; Brooks, in *C.M.H.*, II, 393.

127. Sébéos, p. 147.

128. Sébéos, p. 148; John Catholicos, p. 77; Aqoghig de Daron, p. 107.

129. *De Rebus Armeniae*, ed. Garitte, p. 438.

certain fortified sites, known as the "aplicta",¹³⁰ facilitated the mustering of imperial troops.

Asia Minor was a primary source of wealth and of vital economic importance to the Empire. Many of Byzantium's finest troops were drawn from the region. And the Empire could ill afford to neglect the defence of this significant area.

Soon after the occupation of northern Syria and Mesopotamia, the Arabs were faced with the problem of defending the newly conquered and wealthy provinces especially in the transitional period when the foundations of the new order of things had to be laid. It is reputed that yearly incursions into Asia Minor was a proposal put forth by Muawiyah, the purpose being not to conquer imperial territory but to weaken the resistance of the inhabitants through economic ruination that would come as a result of the yearly raids, and at the same time create the feeling of insecurity among the border populations. Moreover, the razzias would bring economic gain to the raiders.

No well-fortified imperial town was occupied permanently, but the rural population suffered much from these raids, and often once flourishing areas soon became desolate stretches of deserted farmlands and villages.

As a rule, each summer the Arabs would enter Asia Minor through Amanus or the Cilician Taurus.¹³¹ They usually proceeded across the passes of Podandos (modern Bozanti) in the Cilician Gates,¹³² or advanced via Germanicea through the Taurus in the direction of Caesarea.¹³³ With tedious monotony the sources record one incursion after another and it becomes difficult to distinguish the precise dates or the routes that were followed. The Byzantine chroniclers do not mention the yearly razzias as do their Arab counterparts, but again it becomes impossible to correlate the chronology of Theophanes, our primary source, with the dating system of the Hegira.

130. The "Aplicta" were fortified camps to which scattered bodies of troops could flock from the outlying areas in time of emergency.

131. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber usw.*; Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze usw.*, p. 39.

132. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 348-349; Honigmann, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

133. Ahrweiler, *L'Asie Mineure et les Invasions Arabes*.

I shall attempt here to give a description of these continuous raids.

Samosata (on the Euphrates) was occupied soon after the fall of Mesopotamia, hence at the end of 640 or in early 641. It had been seized by Habib ibn-Maslama upon orders from Iyad. Habib next captured Melitene¹³⁴ but was unable to retain it. Some time later, Muawiyah again sent Habib to retake the city. An Arab garrison was established there and Melitene became the starting point for many raids into Asia Minor.¹³⁵

The Byzantines had withdrawn their forces to the west of Cilicia taking with them a large number of its inhabitants. Henceforth, the plain between Antioch and west of Cilicia was virtually destitute of population. According to Tabari and Ibn al-Athir, the initial invasion of Cilicia occurred in the 20th year, that is to say, the summer of 641, under the leadership of Abd Allah ibn Kais.¹³⁶

The Syrian and Armenian chroniclers mention a Byzantine counter-attack towards the close of 641 and the beginning of 642, and probably in 643, the latter date which I believe to be more accurate. A Byzantine army led by Valentine repulsed the Arabs in Cilicia (probably the invasion by Abd Allah ibn Kais), then entered Mesopotamia where it met another army commanded by David Zacharuni, prince of Armenia. Denys de Tell-Mahre reports that Valentine was overcome by panic and withdrew. But it is my view that he was defeated in battle with the Arabs. David, who had not succeeded in joining forces with Valentine, also suffered a crushing defeat, betrayed, it is reputed, by his second in command Titus.¹³⁷ According to the Arab chroniclers, at about the same time the Byzantine fleet attempted a landing in Syria but was re-

134. Very ancient city of Asia Minor, in the northern foothills of the Taurus. In the reign of Justinian its defences were greatly extended and it was made the capital city of Third Armenia. It is the modern Malatiya.

135. Baladhuri, Hitti ed., p. 289; Yakut, IV, 633.

136. Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 393; of the same, the Arabs in Asia Minor; Caetani, *Annali*, V, 218.

137. Denys de Tell Mahré, ed. Chabot, pp. 6 and 7. He dates the campaign in the year 955 (A.D. 643-644); Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot, II, 443-444, who dates this in the same year as the conquest of Rhodes (653-654); Michael the Syrian, Armenian ed. by Langlois, p. 234; Chronicle of the year 1234, pp. 201, 202; Brooks, op. cit., II, 393.

pulsed.¹³⁸ Another version states that this landing occurred in the last year of Umar, hence 643-644.

Arab sources (Baladhuri) say that the summer raid by the Muslims into Cilicia and Cappadocia, in the 21st year of the Hegira (A.D. 642), was undertaken by Umayr ben Sad-al-Ansari.

Arab, Syrian and Armenian sources indicate that the strategos Procopios and Theodore Rstuni made a deep raid into Mesopotamia as far as Batna (south of Edessa on the Edessa-Aleppo route). Another version says that they crossed the Euphrates to Batna-Sarug (east of Hieropolis), crushed the Arab detachments, and plundered the entire region.¹³⁹ I tend to agree with Brooks who supports 643 as the date of the raid.

In a year that is difficult to determine, probably 647, Muawiyah led a powerful force into Cappadocia and systematically pillaged the province. He occupied Euchaita, advanced to Caesarea which he beleaguered, then proceeded hence to Amorion where he was thrown back, retraced his steps to Caesarea which finally agreed to pay tribute money in order to raise the siege. His army returned to its base burdened with much loot. In Cilicia he destroyed all fortifications between Antioch and Tarsus that had been abandoned by the imperial forces.¹⁴⁰

Habib led the raid of 649 that ravaged the province of Isauria. It is most probable that the purpose of this penetration had as primary

138. Caetani, *Annali*, V, 32.

139. Denys de Tell-Mahré, p. 7; Ghevond, p. 6; Brooks, *op. cit.*; Caetani, *Annali*, V, 695; Halphen, *Les Barbares*, p. 138.

140. Ibn al-Athir and Baladhuri give as the date for this raid the 25th year of the Hegira (A.D. 645-646). Michael the Syrian, II, 431, says the year 951 (A.D. 640), a most improbable date. Agapius, p. 218, the 10th year of Umar (643). Brooks, *op. cit.*, II, 393, supports 644 as the year for the occupation of Euchaita, the year 646 for Caesarea, and 647 for the destruction of the fortifications. Ostrogorsky, *History, etc.*, p. 103, accepts 647. Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 155, also the year 647. I do not believe Brooks is right in admitting three expeditions of Muawiyah. The latter then led a single campaign, probably in 647, between the 26th and 28th years of the Hegira at which time Habib reoccupied Melitene, and thus supporting the flank of Muawiyah. At all events, this expedition took place during the Caliphate of Uthman and after Muawiyah had been recognized as supreme governor of all territories that had been conquered.

objective the bolstering of the first naval operation of the Arabs against Cyprus.¹⁴¹

The incursions and counter-raids understandably ceased for the duration of the truce at which time the Byzantines concentrated their attention on the reorganization of the defence posture of these regions.

Upon the expiry of the truce, when the massive invasion by Habib of Armenia, Pontus, and so on, took place, Muawiyah himself led a large force deep into Asia Minor as far as Ankyra which he occupied.¹⁴² He withdrew with much booty and numerous prisoners. But I suspect there is some misunderstanding concerning this episode. Theophanes reports another expedition of Muawiyah in 655. As I relate in part 8 of this chapter, the expedition never actually took place. Can it refer to the same invasion by Muawiyah that is repeatedly recorded by the chroniclers using different dates?

Such were the main incursions conducted by the Arabs in Asia Minor up to the internecine strife in the Arab world. The frontiers between Byzantium and the Arabs became more or less stabilized along the Taurus range in Cilicia.

3

It would appear that when the Arabs completed the occupation of Egypt, they did not conduct themselves in exemplary fashion as they imposed ever more taxes on the inhabitants.¹⁴³ It is reputed that beyond the heavy impositions on the people of the country, many of the Arab leaders enriched their personal coffers, and among these Amr. For this

141. Theophanes, p. 344, who however records Busr ben-abi-Artat as leader of the expedition, as the year of the invasion 6142 (A.D. 650-651), and in fact on the basis of Brooks the year 651 (6142-5491, i.e. A.D. 651), the 10th year of Constantine (649-650), the 5th of Uthman (648-649); Denys de Tell Mahré, p. 8. On the other hand, the Arab chroniclers cite Habib as the leader and support the 28th year of the Hegira, hence the summer of 649. Brooks, *op. cit.*, II, 393, and *The Arabs, etc.*; Cheira, *La lutte, etc.*, p. 77.

142. Elie Bar Sinaya, p. 86, says the 33rd year of the Hegira (653-4) and 964 (653-4) of the Greeks; Tabari, I, 297; Baethgen, *Fragmente usw.*, the year 964 and the 33rd of the Hegira; Caetani, *Annali*, VII, p. 516, and *Chronographia*, p. 353; Halphen, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Brooks, *The Arabs, etc.*; Cheira, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

143. Makrizi, ed. Bouriant, pp. 218 f.; Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 104.

reason, Umar confiscated half of his wealth. In any case, in early 644, the Caliph Umar limited the powers of Amr, appointing as governor of Upper Egypt and the Fayum area Abd Allah ibn Sa'd. The latter he made responsible for the collection of all the taxes of the country. After the assassination of Umar and the elevation of Uthman to the Caliphate, Uthman made Abd Allah, who was his foster brother, responsible for the civil administration of Egypt.¹⁴⁴

The Greek population of Egypt that had remained in the country suffered much coercion on the part of the Arabs. It had on the other hand knowledge of the military weaknesses of the conquerors. Alexandria, once the second most populous and prosperous city in the world, was garrisoned by a detachment of only one thousand men. The Greeks of the city incessantly urged Constantinople to send a strong force to recover the country.

On the basis of this intelligence, the Byzantines prepared a large expeditionary force. Commanded by the eunuch strategos Manuel, it appeared before Alexandria in the early part of the 25th year of the Hegira (October 28, 645 - October 16, 646). It is reported that the armada consisted of 300 ships. Al-Hakam records that as soon as the fleet appeared, the Greeks of Alexandria rebelled, helped the army to disembark, and massacred the entire garrison. But Manuel did not follow up his victory. Rather than march against Babylon, the main defensive center of the enemy where complete confusion had now taken reign, Manuel plundered the Delta region of the Nile, thus giving the Arabs the time needed to reassemble their scattered forces and at the same time rousing further the hatred of the local population.

When they had recovered from the initial shock of the unexpected attack, the Arabs demanded the recall of Amr who was sent without delay to Babylon (Fustat, Misr, the modern Cairo). The sluggish movements of the imperial army and its dispersal in the Delta provided Amr with ample time to organize the defence and to gather a strong force of

144. Baladhuri, ed. Hitti, p. 351; Mirkhond, p. 90; Tabari, ed. Zotenberg, III, 583 f.; Severe d'Eschmounein, p. 237/501; Ibn Adhari, p. 3; Elie Bar Sinaya, pp. 85 f.; Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 465 ff.; Wüstenfeld, *Die Stadthalter von Ägypten* usw.

15.000 men¹⁴⁵ which force moreover had the support of the Coptic population.

Manuel advanced at a snail's pace along the bank of the Nile as far as the town of Nikiu. We do not know whether he occupied it. At all events, Amr arrived in Nikiu with his army accompanied by numerous river-craft and many Copts.

The two opposing armies soon engaged in a bloody and stubbornly fought battle in the countryside round Nikiu. A part of the Arab force was destroyed and the imperial army soon believed that victory was within its grasp. But the obstinacy and the admirable fighting qualities of the Arabs soon turned the scale and the Byzantines were forced to beat a retreat. The withdrawal developed into a rout with the Arabs in hot pursuit. The Muslims halted only at the gates of Alexandria which had been securely bolted.

The besiegers penetrated the defences of Alexandria by direct assault according to Baladhuri, but Suyuti states that their entry was helped by the treachery of the sentinels at one of the gates. In any case, initially the Arabs had begun to beleaguer the city from a fortified encampment outside Alexandria and used siege catapults against the walls. The defences of the city could not be easily penetrated. This is what leads me to believe that some kind of treachery had been practiced. The Arabs surged into the streets of Alexandria putting all to the sword, looting and burning. Manuel was slain in a bitterly fought clash in the heart of Alexandria. Those who managed to survive fled to the ships of the imperial fleet which set sail from the harbour in haste. It was with great difficulty that Amr succeeded in bringing a halt to the destruction, but only after a large section of the city including the church of St. Mark had been consumed by the flames.

The occupation of Alexandria took place in the summer of A.D. 646. Amr tore down the walls of the city and imposed a heavy tax on the rebellious inhabitants.

In this manner the attempt of the Byzantines to recover Egypt was ignominiously terminated. The expedition could well have taken another turn had the commander in chief shown more initiative and moved

145. Mirkhond, *op. cit.*; Makrizi, *op. cit.*; Makrizi, ed. Casanova; Eutychius, pp. 1112 ff.; Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 116.

quickly and boldly to the south to destroy the Arab base at Fustat (Misr) as Babylon was then known.¹⁴⁶

4

The Arab conquerors of Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt had been for the most part nomads. They were completely unfamiliar with the maritime element, and often times were actually fearful of the sea.¹⁴⁷ But among the nations they conquered, there existed numerous peoples who had acquaintance with the sea and actually thrived from it. Understandably, therefore, the seafaring peoples such as the Phoenicians and some Egyptians sought ships to move their merchandise and to assure themselves of a means of livelihood.

Muawiyah, the very able and brilliant commander, soon enough realized that without a fleet the Arabs could not effectively protect the coastal regions of their recent conquests. Manuel's invasion of Egypt and the near loss of that province made this fact even more apparent. Some time later, Muawiyah had sought from Umar permission to build a fleet for the purpose of conducting naval raids, but Umar categorically rejected the suggestion.¹⁴⁸ However, after the latter's death, when Uthman reappointed Muawiyah supreme governor of Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine, Muawiyah vigorously renewed his proposal for a fleet and finally persuaded Uthman to revoke the prohibitory decree of the late Umar. Muawiyah proceeded apace to build ships in the yards of the coastal towns of the Lebanon in which Christian seamen possessed a long tradition of maritime experience. The first Arab fleet soon took to

146. Baladhuri, *op. cit.*; Makrizi, *op. cit.*; Mirkhond, *op. cit.*; Eutychius, *op. cit.*; Sévère d'El Eschmounein, pp. 230-236; Suyuti, pp. 74-76. But Theophanes, p. 338, confuses the first and the second conquest, as do Agapius, pp. 212, 213 and 219, Michael the Syrian, II, 425, and Abul Faradj Bar Hebraeus, p. 95; Chronicle of the Year 1234, p. 197. See Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 465 f.; Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 104 f.; Ostrogorsky, *History, etc.*, p. 103; Brooks, *The Relations between the Empire and Egypt, etc.*; Amantos, *History, etc.*, I, 319; Lambros, *History, etc.*, III, 718; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 166; Wiet, *L'Egypte Arabe*, p. 28; Glubb, *The Great, etc.*, pp. 282-284.

147. Ibn Khaldoun, *Les Prolégomenes*, II, 39.

148. Baladhuri, ed. Hitti, p. 196; Tabari, III, 562.

the sea.¹⁴⁹ In Egypt, too, the naval yards were busy launching ships, and within a relatively short period the two yards that had existed in the days of Byzantine sovereignty had grown to eight in number.¹⁵⁰

Muawiyah sought permission to launch an assault against Cyprus on the grounds that it was a wealthy island and moreover because of its proximity to Syria constituted a threat to that country on the part of the Byzantines. Uthman gave his blessing in the 27th year of the Hegira (October 7, 647 - September 24, 648) but on the condition that this naval expedition be led by Muawiyah himself and that his wife accompany him.¹⁵¹ Muawiyah henceforth prepared feverishly for the attack.

Regarding the first assault against Cyprus, certain difficulties arise with the chronology, the duration of the Arab stay in the island and what they had accomplished there (see Note V for the dating). It is my impression that in the spring of A.D. 649, numerous ships and small craft from Egypt had gathered on the Syrian coast. The crews were Egyptian but the fighting men were Arabs. It is reputed that the number of ships was about 500, and that the entire armada was commanded by Abd Allah ibn Sad ben Abi Sarh, governor of Egypt. The Syrian fleet transported warriors of the Syrian army. Towards the end of spring and early summer, Muawiyah finally sailed for Cyprus in supreme command of the armada, Syrian and Egyptian, consisting of 1700 ships and smaller craft. I will not here deal with this unusually large number of vessels that is reported by both Byzantine and Syrian chroniclers. The figure is highly improbable and conflicts with the actual feasibilities of the time. As deputy commanders Muawiyah had Abd Allah ibn Sad and Abd Allah ben Kais.¹⁵² Muawiyah landed near Constantia,¹⁵³ capital city of Cyprus at the time.

149. Amantos, *History, etc.*, I, 323; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber usw.*, p. 418; Weil, *Geschichte, usw.*, I, 160; Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 40.

150. Cheira, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f.; Lombard, *Le bois dans la Méditerranée*.

151. Baladhuri, p. 235. A very odd passage. Muslims had more than one wife.

152. Theophanes, p. 343; Agapius, pp. 195 & 220; Michael the Syrian, II, 441; Abul Faradj Bar Hebraeus, *op. cit.*; *Chronicle of the Year 1234*, p. 209; Baladhuri, p. 235; Tabari, III, 563; Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 225; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, I, 284.

153. Constantia is the ancient Salamis of Cyprus. It was destroyed by earthquakes and rebuilt in 345 by the Emperor Constantine the Great, after whom it was named.

There exist two traditions regarding the episode, the Arab and the Greek, but neither are contemporary with the events. According to the former, as soon as the Arabs landed on the coast of the islands, the "ruler" of Cyprus (?) asked for the terms of capitulation and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 7200 dinars, a sum equal to that which the Cypriots had been paying to the Greeks. Another reputed condition was that the Cypriots would inform the Muslims of any movements of the imperial troops, but they would not be obligated to support the Arabs nor would the Cypriots have the right to assist any enemy attack on the Arabs.¹⁵⁴ It is difficult to accept this source as reliable in view of the fact that there was no ruler of the island, nor were the Cypriots paying tribute to the Greeks. Cyprus was a province of the Byzantine Empire and as such the inhabitants were liable for the taxes payable to the imperial treasury as were all the inhabitants of the Empire. On the other hand, the first Greek reference to the payment of 7200 dinars and to the sharing of the tax receipts between Arab and Byzantine is dated 688 in the reign of Justinian II. It is very probable that this sharing of the revenue was confused by the chroniclers who had recorded the events several centuries later.¹⁵⁵

The Greeks record two versions of the episode. According to the primary Greek source, Muawiyah plundered the island, but the Greco-Syrian source states that Muawiyah sought some kind of agreement with the Cypriots, but the latter, relying upon the impregnacy of their walls rejected the offer. At all events, Muawiyah succeeded in capturing Constantia and looting it. Many inhabitants were put to the sword while others were taken prisoner. It is reputed that following this disaster, the Bishop of Cyprus moved his seat to Famagusta where the surviving inhabitants of the capital city had fled.

Muawiyah proceeded with the systematic despoliation of the island, but when he had received intelligence that a powerful imperial armada commanded by the cubicularius Kakorizos was cruising in the direction

154. Baladhuri, p. 236; Al-Athir, III, 73-75; Abul Fedae, op. cit., II, 262; Eutychius, p. 1113; Tabari, op. cit., III, 563; Al-Makine, p. 34; Elie Bar Sinaya, p. 85; Baethgen, op. cit., for the year 959; Dikigoropoulos, *The Political Status, etc.*; Cheira, op. cit., p. 100; Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 365; Canard, *Deux episodes des relations, etc.*

155. Wellhausen, op. cit., p. 418; Papageorgiou, *Les premières incursions, etc.*

of Cyprus, he embarked his troops and departed.¹⁵⁶ It does not appear that any kind of condominium or other restriction had been imposed on the islanders at the time. As Papageorgiou has pointed out, the archaeological evidence indicates that many works were completed in Cyprus in the period between the first and the second invasions of the island, activities that would not normally be carried out had a garrison been established in Cyprus or some agreement of neutrality been in force. On the other hand, if Muawiyah did receive monies to spare a city or as ransom for the release of prisoners, it is an entirely different matter.

Having surrendered part of the loot to the Egyptians, Muawiyah next turned his attention to Aradus, a small island¹⁵⁷ that had remained in the possession of the Byzantines. Muawiyah landed on the island and began the assault, but the defences were too strong for him. He then sent for Bishop Thomas from Amatheia (Theophanes refers to him as Thomarichus) who acted as a special emissary to the inhabitants of Aradus bringing very favorable proposals on the part of Muawiyah. But the inhabitants were adamant in their refusal and held the Bishop prisoner on the island. Realizing that his maneuver had failed, and since winter was fast approaching, Muawiyah set sail for the shore opposite.¹⁵⁸

The following year Muawiyah returned with a powerful army and fleet and threatened to raze Aradus to the ground if the inhabitants did not surrender. The latter, seeing that no help was forthcoming, agreed to capitulate. They were given permission to remove all their possessions and to settle anywhere they wished, either in "Romania (i.e. the Byzantine Empire) or in Syria." When Muawiyah tore down the strong fortifications, the island soon became desolate. But a few years later, Mu-

156. Theophanes, pp. 343, 344; Agapius, pp. 195 & 220; Michael the Syrian, II, 441, 442; Anonymous Chronicle of the Year 1234, pp. 209, 210; Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 104; Amantos, op. cit., p. 323; Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 393; Sathas, op. cit., II, 23; Lambros, op. cit., p. 735; Kaestner, op. cit., p. 36; Hill, op. cit., I, 284; Dikigoropoulos, op. cit.; Hatzipsaltis, and others support a middle tradition, that Cyprus initially was plundered and later was forced to come to terms and pay tribute. Complete confusion exists in the train of events involving the island.

157. Modern Ruad, an islet close in to the Syrian shore. It possessed excellent walls and a strong garrison.

158. Theophanes, p. 344; Cedrenus, p. 755; Agapius, pp. 220, 221; Michael the Syrian, II, 442; Chronicle of the Year 1234, pp. 213 f.; Denys de Tell-Mahré, p. 7.

wiyah settled Muslim colonists on Aradus.¹⁵⁹ The surrender of the island took place in the spring of A.D. 650.

5

Rarely had the situation been more critical for the Empire. The uninterrupted incursions of the Arabs into Asia Minor compounded the financial and administrative difficulties. The picture in Armenia had become even more complicated as a result of the growing hostility between the Byzantines and the Armenian prince Rstuni. The appearance of an Arab fleet constituted a new threat to the coastal areas and the islands of the Empire, and disturbed the formerly secure shipping and trading routes, thus multiplying even more the dangers confronting Byzantium. No one could have deemed possible at the time an Arab military supremacy both on land and sea. Meanwhile, in the West, the hostility of the church, and the rebellion of the Exarch Olympios, supported by the Western Church, had given rise to great concern in the Byzantine court. Confronted by these numerous crises, it was decided to seek a peace or a truce with the Arabs.

The sources are not quite clear as to when the truce was made or to its duration. We are, moreover, completely in the dark concerning the conditions and the amounts of tribute monies paid by the Byzantines to gain this truce.

On the basis of the most reliable information, the patrician and strategos Procopios was sent on an embassy in A.D. 651 to Muawiyah to obtain a peace agreement or a truce from the Muslims. The year 651 appears to be accurate enough in view of the fact that the occupation of Aradus took place in 650, and an earlier date than this would not be acceptable, for Muawiyah would not have violated the truce had it existed. Theophanes, in his usual fashion, quotes several dates the most plausible of which is 650-651. If we are to accept this date of Theophanes when he records that Busr (see Footnote 141) invaded Isauria, then it was only after the termination of this campaign that negotiations with Muawiah were possible.

159. Theophanes, p. 344; Baladhuri, p. 376; Agapius, pp. 220, 221; Michael the Syrian, II, 442.

Muawiyah demanded hostages and a certain quantity of solidi. Concerning the amount of the latter, we have absolutely no information. Gregory, uncle of the Emperor, son of Theodore, brother of Heraclius I, was sent as hostage. He died in Heliopolis (Baalbek) in 652-653 and his body, embalmed in myrrh, was shipped back to Constantinople.¹⁶⁰ Hence the truce could not have expired before this date, otherwise Gregory would have been released.

But independently of this fact, as I have pointed out in paragraph one of the present chapter, Muawiyah refused help to Theodore Rstuni in Armenia before 653. Moreover, the recent naval raids of the Arabs did not begin before 653. We therefore possess two concrete dates: the campaign against Aradus and the probable incursion of "Voursour" in Isauria; and the death of Gregory, but especially the entrance of Habib into Armenia to help Rstuni against the Byzantines. On the basis of this evidence, it is my view that the truce was agreed to between Arab and Byzantine in early 651 and endured for two years, terminating in the early months of A.D. 653.¹⁶¹

6

During the truce, Muawiyah made feverish preparations to strengthen his fleet. Immediately upon the expiry of the truce, widespread naval operations were begun. Unfortunately, however, between 653 when the truce expired and 655 when the great naval confrontation took place,

160. Theophanes, pp. 344, 345, gives the following dates: Anno Mundi 6144 (652-653), the 11th year of Constans (651-652), the 7th year of Uthman (652-653), and the 12th year of the Patriarch Paul (652-653). According to the Anonymous Chronicle of 1234, Gregory died in the year 962 (A.D. 651-652).

161. Theophanes, pp. 344, 345; Agapius, pp. 221, 222; Michael the Syrian, II, 446, who says a truce of three years; Bar Hebraeus, p. 99, who also reports a truce of three years; Denys de Tell-Mahré, but for the year 964 (652-653); Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 104, who also records three years; Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 393; Lebeau-St. Martin, XI, 341; Kaestner, pp. 37-38, who speaks of a truce of two years in 650 and 651 (!); Dölger, Regesten, No. 226; Caetani, Chronographia, etc., p. 315, speaks of the beginning of the truce in the 28th year (September 648-649). The strange fact is that not a single Arab chronicler makes mention of this truce.

the chronology is most confusing and the sequence of these naval operations uncertain.

The Arab chroniclers provide us with the information that the Arabs attacked Cyprus a second time. These sources specify that in the 33rd year of the Hegira, because the Cypriots had given aid to the Byzantines in the previous year, Muawiyah sailed to the island with 500 ships, occupied it and massacred many of its inhabitants. Finally, having reimposed the terms of the treaty that had been drawn up in 649, he built a city and established on the island a garrison of 12,000 men.¹⁶²

The Syrian chroniclers give another story. The Arab commander Abou'l Awar landed troops near the town of Lapithus to which he laid siege, but finally accepted the payment of tribute money to spare it from pillage. But he savagely plundered the island and put many of its inhabitants to the sword. According to the Syrian chroniclers, after ravaging Cyprus the Arab invaders withdrew to Syria.¹⁶³

The details of the second attack have not been thoroughly investigated. It is my belief that Muawiyah had wished to eliminate the Byzantine bases that posed a potential threat to the unhindered movement of his fleet, particularly in preparation for the attack against Constantinople itself which was his ultimate goal. He wished also to make use of the rich cypress forests of the island for the building of units of his armada.¹⁶⁴ In 653 (probably in early 654, the 33rd year of the Hegira, or from August 2, 653 to July 21, 654), the fleet of Syria under the command of Abou'l Awar reached Cyprus. Having plundered the province, he established in the island a garrison as well as several shipyards.¹⁶⁵ Arab sources say the garrison was withdrawn from Cyprus

162. Baladhuri, p. 236. He records the 33rd year, or as some say, the 35th year (655-656). But this seems impossible. Ibn al-Athir, III, p. 107; Tabari, I, 2907. The 33rd year is accepted by Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 59 f. See also Glubb, *The Great Arab Conquest*, p. 289.

163. Michael the Syrian, II, 442; Abul Faraj Bar Hebraeus, p. 211; *Chronicle of the Year 1234*, p. 212.

164. Lombard, *Arsenaux et bois de Marine*, etc.

165. Van den Venden, *Le légende*, etc., p. 145; Lambros, *op. cit.*, p. 735 who accepts the year 653; Cheira, *op. cit.*, p. 101, the year 654; Dulaurier, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-234, the year 653-654; Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 285, A.D. 653-654; Dikigoropoulos, *op. cit.*, adopts the year 653-654; and also Hadjipsaltis. Papageorgiou accepts 653-654, on the basis of the Arab chroniclers who are, after all, the only to give any chronology; Lombard, *Arsenaux*, etc.

in 680, but this is doubted by many Cypriot historians who maintain that in 656-657 when Muawiyah was engaged in the civil war with Ali, he withdrew his garrison from the island to reinforce his army.

At about the same time, Muawiyah led the army of Syria against Rhodes which he subdued. The chronology of this expedition is most perplexing. Theophanes writes, Anno Mundi 6145 (A.D. 654), the 12th year of Constans (652-653), the 8th of Uthman (651-652), the first of the Patriarch Peter (654-655). Zonaras dates the conquest of Rhodes after the great naval engagement of 655. Michael the Syrian records the year 654 but by Abou'l Awar, whereas Agapius states the 8th year of Uthman (651-652). On the other hand, Baladhuri says the 52nd year (672), but Tabari and Al-Athir the 53rd year (673). It is my considered opinion that the Arab chroniclers confuse the conquest of Rhodes with the occupation of Cyzicus.

I believe that the great naval expedition for the destruction of the imperial bases took place, as Baladhuri states, in the 33rd year, or A.D. 653-654. Hence, Muawiyah seized Rhodes¹⁶⁶ in the early part of 654 and more or less contemporaneously or very soon after the invasion of Cyprus by Abou'l Awar.

Theophanes records that Muawiyah destroyed the Colossus of Rhodes, one of the seven wonders of the world, 1360 years after its construction. But this computation is wrong. The building of the Colossus began approximately in 304 B.C. and was completed in 12 years. The Colossus fell as a result of an earthquake and was probably never again restored. There is absolutely no reference in Arab sources to the Colossus and I believe that the number of camels referred to is exagger-

166. Theophanes, p. 345; Cedrenus, p. 755; Zonaras, III, 314; Leo the Grammarian, p. 157; Agapius, p. 222; Michael the Syrian, II, 442. Diehl, *Le Monde Oriental*, p. 236, accepts the year 654. Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Bréhier, *Vie et mort*, etc., p. 61, and in *Démembrements des Chrétientées*, etc., V, 177; Amantos, *op. cit.*, I, 323; Brooks, in *C.M.H.*, II, 393 and the *Chronography of Theophanes*, etc.; Bury, *op. cit.*, II, 290; Cheira, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 102; Lammens, *La Syrie*, I, 65; Hitti, *History of Syria*, p. 426; Lemerle, *Les répercussions de la crise*, etc.; Ahrweiler, *L'Asie Mineure*, etc.; Levtchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 125; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 419; Papageorgiou, *op. cit.*, Paparrigopoulos (III, 230), Hertzberg (I, 219) and Halphen (p. 138), all accept the year 653. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 62, maintains 652, whereas Amari (I, 82), the year 651, the years in which the truce between Arabs and Byzantines was in effect.

ated. It was reputed to contain 3000 animal packs of bronze. Muawiyah sold the bronze to a Jewish merchant of Edessa (Michael the Syrian writes of Emesa) who required according to the legend 900 camels to transport it.¹⁶⁷

In the same period, Abou'l Awar, probably at the head of the same force that had attacked Cyprus, landed in Cos and through the treachery of its bishop succeeded in occupying the island's citadel. The depredation of the island was frightful as was the massacre of its population. Abou'l Awar afterwards plundered Crete (I presume the eastern coasts of the island). Of these two raids there is no mention whatsoever in either the Greek or the Arab sources. Michael the Syrian alone and Abu'l Faradj Bar Hebraeus who uses him, record the incidents.¹⁶⁸ This information leaves room for some doubt. It is quite possible that Michael confused the mission of the bishop to Aradus with the event and repeats the same incident but in this instance citing Cos. It is most probable that these operations were nothing but minor razzias, those raids of which the Arabs were so fond, and had no permanent consequences. The silence of the Greek and especially the Arab sources, leads me to such a conclusion.

7

The collapse of Persia and the difficulties confronting Byzantium may have whetted the appetite of Muawiyah for the capture of the imperial capital itself. He had well understood that to challenge Byzantium effectively, the Arabs required a strong fleet. Once the permission had been received from Uthman, Muawiyah soon prepared the first armada and began operations against Byzantine coastal towns, islands and the imperial fleet itself. The repeated successes of his ships against the various islands of the Aegean moved him to greater ambitions.

167. Theophanes, p. 345; Cedrenus, p. 755; Zonaras, III, 314; Leo the Grammarian, p. 157; Michael the Syrian, II, 442.

168. Michael the Syrian, II, 442; Abul Faraj, *Chronicon Syriacum*, I, 111; Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 522; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Papageorgiou, *op. cit.*; Brooks, *C.M.H.*, II, 230; Fickoff, *Seekrieg usw.*, p. 22, but supporting the year 655.

The building of a fleet large enough to challenge the Empire's supremacy of the sea was no easy task. The Byzantines had formerly in Egypt two naval arsenals,¹⁶⁹ one at Alexandria and another at Clysma for the Red Sea squadrons. In Syria also there existed large shipyards at Beirut and Tripolis.¹⁷⁰ Muawiyah urged Abd Allah, governor of Egypt, to increase the number of Egyptian shipbuilding yards, and he himself had multiplied the numbers in Syria. Another serious problem was the lack of an ample timber supply for shipbuilding, for Egypt lacked forests. For centuries, all the provinces now controlled by the Arabs had supplied the various fleets with the precious commodity. The forests of Lebanon were hard taxed to provide for the needs of Beirut where Muawiyah had brought carpenters from the Persian Gulf to help in the construction of the first ships.¹⁷¹

The islands of the Aegean, Cyprus and Crete still possessed rich forests, but most of all the coasts of Asia Minor attracted the naval marauders. This accounts for the attacks against the islands and the Anatolian coasts.

The truce with Byzantium and the tribute monies received from the imperial treasury gave Muawiyah the means with which to complete his shipbuilding program. Moreover, the successes of the first marine assaults were very encouraging and the Arab leader kept the shipyards, both old and new, fully occupied.¹⁷²

As I have pointed out elsewhere, the Arabs were not a maritime people, but their conquests enabled them to draw upon nations that knew the sea and possessed a maritime tradition.¹⁷³

The sailors were for the most part Christian subjects. Evidence from the papyri of Egypt distinguishes the crews between fighting men who were pure-blooded Arabs or proselytized Egyptians, and the ordinary seamen who were usually drawn from the Christian element of Egypt

169. Lombard, *Arsenaux et bois de marine*.

170. Lombard, *op. cit.*, and *Le bois dans la Méditerranée*, etc.; Runciman, *Byzantine Trade*, etc., in *C.E.H.*, II, p. 89.

171. Yakubi, ed. Wiet, p. 178.

172. Theophanes, p. 345; Cedrenus, p. 755; George the Monk, p. 716; Zonaras, III, 314; Agapius, p. 223; Michael the Syrian, II, 445; Elie Bar Sinaya, 86; Anonymous Chronicle of the Year 1234, p. 214; Sébèos, p. 140; Vardan, pp. 140-142; Aqoghig de Daron, p. 152.

173. Ibn Khaldoun, *Les Prolégomènes*, II, 39.

and who more often than not had no relationship with the Muslim soldiery.¹⁷⁴ An identical system was practiced in Syria. The crews were more Greco-Syrian than Arab. The majority of the officer corps and most of the ordinary seamen were Christians. They were the first to teach the Arabs in the crafts of naval warfare and maritime science.¹⁷⁵

At about this time there took place a strange episode recorded by all the Byzantine and Syrian sources but completely ignored by the Arab chroniclers.

It appears that the Byzantines were much perturbed by the feverish naval preparations of Muawiyah. In Tripolis (Syria) there were two brothers, Christians, "the sons of Vucinator" who were apparently the instigators of a plot and who at the right moment (?) rushed the prison of the city wherein were incarcerated "many Romans". They seized the garrison, freed and armed the prisoners, then assaulted the governor's headquarters, slew the "Emir" and the troops of the garrison, set fire to the ships, the arsenal, and so on. Afterwards they succeeded in making good their escape to "Romania".¹⁷⁶ As usual in such instances, the sources do not help date the episode, which varies between A.D. 653 and 656. Dulaurier adopts 655, which would appear to be the most plausible date in view of the fact that Theophanes quotes the same year for the great naval engagement between the Byzantine and Arab armadas in which the sons of "Vucinator" took part.¹⁷⁷ The episode, therefore, must have taken place in early 655.

8

The entire subject of the naval battle between the imperial and Arab fleets is so interwoven with prophetic utterances of the Byzantines and

174. Kenyon-Bell-Crum, *Greek papyri, etc.*, IV, pp. xxxii f.; Bell, *Translations of the Greek, etc.*; Cheira, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 ff.; Fahmy, *Muslim Sea Power, etc.*, p. 104.

175. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 218; Wiet, *L'Empire neo-Byzantin, etc.*

176. Theophanes, p. 345; Cedrenus, p. 755; Agapius, p. 223, who writes that the ringleaders were in the service of the Arabs; Michael the Syrian, II, 445; Elie Bar Sinaya, pp. 86, 87; Anonymous Chronicle of the Year 1234, p. 214; Baethgen, *Fragmente usw.*, in the year 965 (A.D. 654) and the 34th year of the Hegira.

177. Dulaurier, *Recherches sur la Chronologie, etc.*, pp. 234, 235; Brooks, *The Chronology of Theophanes*.

exaggerations of the Arabs that, unless some hitherto undiscovered source is found which can help unravel fact from fancy, we shall never learn the actual details. The date of the battle is approximately known, and the chroniclers, Byzantine, Arab, Syrian, and so on, all agree as to the outcome of the engagement. Yet the consequences of the battle conflict entirely with the result with which all agree. To avoid burdening the narrative, I will revert to the Notes, and deal here only with what happened on the basis of the records of the chroniclers. Then I will proceed to set out my own conclusions after careful sifting of existing evidence with the aid of some modicum of logic.

The naval battle took place before early July 655 (see Note VI). Theophanes (A.M. 6146, A.D. 655) and the Arab chroniclers (34th year of the Hegira which ends in the first ten days of July 655) agree with this date. The Byzantine chroniclers maintain that the Arabs opened the attack on the imperial fleet, but the Arab historians argue that the Byzantines were the first to attack. Many chroniclers record that Abou'l Awar commanded the Arab armada, yet others state that Abd Allah ben Sad, governor of Egypt, led the fleet. The engagement took place off the coast of Lycia near Phoenix mountain, round the cape of Chelidonia.¹⁷⁸

It is my impression that the Byzantines were aware of the preparations of Muawiyah for an ultimate attack against Constantinople. The invasions and looting of Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete had vexed them much. In addition to the looting and destruction wrought by the Arabs, the purpose of these continuous raids was to obtain precious timber supplies without which the building, let alone the maintenance, of a powerful fleet would have been problematical.¹⁷⁹ The Byzantines equipped a large navy with the object of hindering the preparations of the Arabs and if possible of destroying the newly launched fleet. The Emperor Constantine, then 25 years of age, was given command of the fleet and according to the Syrian historians, he was accompanied by his brother Theodosios.¹⁸⁰ The number of vessels in the imperial fleet which

178. See Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*, Maps IV and V.

179. Lombard, *Le bois dans la Méditerranée*, etc.

180. Michael the Syrian, II, 445; Abul Faraj Bar Hebraeus, p. 98; Agapius, p. 224; Anonymous Chronicle of the Year 1234, p. 214.

is reported by the various chroniclers is wholly fictional.¹⁸¹ The Empire could never have mustered such a large number of ships. The Byzantines simply refer to the "Roman fleet", the Syrians say, "a large number of vessels". One should consider that a ship of 100 tons displacement normally carried 80 to 100 oarsmen and 30 soldiers.¹⁸² Hence for the manning of an armada of 500 to 1000 vessels, 40,000 to 100,000 oarsmen would be required to transport 15 to 30,000 troops, numbers far too vast for that period. On the other hand, the Arabs record that their fleet numbered only 200 ships, but even this figure appears to be exaggerated. I will not comment on the very imaginative recitals of the Armenian chroniclers (see Note VII).

The Egyptians who had need of timber for the masts of their ships established a naval dockyard¹⁸³ at the foot of Phoenix mountain in Lycia. Phoenix was densely covered with cypress, essential for the masts of ships. The entire operation was supervised by the governor of Egypt Abd Allah with a strong squadron of the Egyptian fleet.

Refugees of Tripoli (Syria) were met by the imperial fleet¹⁸⁴ and gave it the latest intelligence from the Syrian port together with the news that the enemy ships had been destroyed there. Perhaps believing they were now in a position to destroy the Arab bases without any interference from the Muslim ships, the Byzantine armada sped towards the coast of Lycia. One could assume that they then learnt of the establishment of Arab arsenals in the area and so set off to destroy them. But they sighted the Egyptian fleet under Abd'Allah at this point.

In the meantime, a squadron of the Syrian armada commanded by Abu'l Awar also arrived on the scene. The simultaneous appearance of the two Arab squadrons may well explain why some chroniclers record that Abd'Allah commanded the Arab armada while others that Abu'l Awar was supreme commander.

181. The Arabs Tabari, Al-Hakam, Al-Kindi, Makrizi, and so on, estimate the imperial fleet at 500 to 1000 ships, whereas the Isidorianae Continuaciones records 1000 ships. Mirkhond on the other hand estimates 300 ships.

182. Bréhier, *La marine*, etc.

183. Zonaras, III, 314; Al-Kindi, *op. cit.*; Lombard, *op. cit.*; Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 393, 394.

184. No source mentions this incident. But this is a reasonable sequence to the adventure of the sons of "Vucinator" who were serving in the Byzantine fleet at the time of the battle.

Al-Hakam records that when the Arabs sighted the Byzantine flotilla they were much concerned and unsure of themselves,¹⁸⁵ and understandably so, for they were getting their first taste of a mass naval engagement, and moreover against an enemy that possessed a long tradition of sea fighting.

As in the case with all great events, Byzantine chroniclers enshrouded the incident with a veil of some form of divine intervention (see Note VIII).

Many details of the sea battle have survived, but it is difficult to check the veracity of these. Theophanes records that the Emperor did not in any way concern himself with the battle array of his ships.¹⁸⁶ Arab chroniclers report that the Emir ordered the ships bound to each other by chains in order that the Arabs could fight with their swords as though on land. And according to Tabari it was agreed that each Arab warship would be yoked to a Greek vessel. Another tradition says that the Arabs proposed to disembark and to give battle on the shore, but the suggestion was turned down by the Greeks. Yet another tradition states that a minor skirmish took place on land. Such are some of the traditions that cannot be verified in view of the existing state of the sources.

Eickoff believes that the naval tactics of the Byzantines became ineffectual once the Arab ships were bound together.¹⁸⁷ But I do not believe this argument can hold water. In fact, the immobilization of practically the entire Arab armada should, if anything, have facilitated the more maneuverable and experienced imperial fleet.

It is my impression that the Byzantines attacked the Egyptian armada, but at some indeterminate moment they were in turn attacked on their exposed flanks by the Syrian squadron. No source supports this view, but it may account for the defeat and the destruction of the imperial ships and at the same time for the destruction of the Arab armada, for although all sources describe the result of the battle as a

185. Canard, *Les expéditions des Arabes*, etc.

186. This is yet a further example of the hatred shown by the Byzantine chroniclers for Constantine, for, after all, it was not the duty of the Emperor to align the ships in battle order. This was normally performed by the appropriate naval officers.

187. Eickoff, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

victory for the Arabs, they admit serious losses undergone by the Muslims.

The Emperor fought bravely and was wounded in the close fighting. Then occurred a strange incident which requires some explanation (see Note IX). I suspect that a conspiracy had been organized against Constantine which almost cost him his life. Perhaps this too was a factor in the defeat of the imperial armada. At all events, Constantine's distrust of his brother began from this date.

The naval engagement was hotly contested and sanguinary. The chroniclers report that the sea had turned red from the profusion of Byzantine blood. The Syrian historians maintain that some 20,000 imperial troops and seamen were slain.¹⁸⁸

The battle had no sequel or repercussions. To the Byzantines it became known as the naval engagement of Phoenix, whilst the Arabs referred to it as the battle of "masts", Dhat al Sawary, since such was the objective of the expedition.¹⁸⁹

Theophanes reports that in the same period, Muawiyah marched against Caesarea in Cappadocia. He dates the expedition in 655 and associates it with the naval contest of Phoenix.¹⁹⁰ Many historians accept this version of Theophanes and maintain that the expedition was part of a pincer movement by land and sea against Constantinople, but that following the destruction of the imperial fleet the major operation was frustrated thanks to the failure of Muawiyah's overland operations.¹⁹¹

I do not believe this passage in Theophanes to be reliable, for the Egyptian flotilla had gone to Phoenix not to undertake a military or naval action but to obtain much-needed supplies of timber so essential

188. Michael the Syrian, II, 446; Anonymous Chronicle of 1234, p. 214.

189. For the battle see Canard, *Les expéditions*, etc.; Caetani, *Annali*, VIII, pp. 92 f.; Brooks, in *C.M.H.*, II, 393; Alexandris, *op. cit.*, p. 143; Lombard, *op. cit.*; Eickoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.; Cheira, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 ff.; Kaestner, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 f.; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 419 f.

190. Theophanes, p. 345; Cedrenus, p. 766. It is significant that no other chronicler makes mention of this expedition.

191. Lebeau-St. Martin, *op. cit.*, XI, 369 f. St. Martin in footnote 2 observes that Lebeau cites the same expedition for the year 651. Bréhier, *Vie et mort de Byzance*, p. 61. He writes that it was the first attempt of the Arabs to attack Constantinople. Brooks, in *C.M.H.*, II, 393; Bury, *op. cit.*, II, 290; Kaestner, *op. cit.*, p. 48. The Arab chroniclers make no mention whatsoever of this expedition.

for the large fleet being prepared for the major assault on Constantinople. The remnants of the Syrian armada that had survived after the great losses suffered at Tripoli, proceeded to Phoenix either in pursuit of the insurrectionists of Tripoli, or, what is more probable, it had received intelligence that a Byzantine fleet was sailing southward, and feared that the Egyptian flotilla faced an immediate threat. All Arab sources agree that the Muslim flotilla was not undertaking any hostile naval action. Hence I cannot see any association with the Muawiyah incursion that took place, in any case, in another year (see paragraph 2 of this chapter). It was in all likelihood one of the normal annual Arab raids into Byzantine territory, although the Arabs were preoccupied with the conquest and subjection of Armenia, Georgia, Albania, and so on. But no coordinated action of naval operations and land assault by Muawiyah took place at the time. It is certain that Muawiyah was making preparations for his major attack which he fulfilled many years later, but at this time, that is, in the summer of 655, no such expedition occurred. Since, therefore, the Egyptian and Syrian fleets had no military or naval objectives, the association with an ostensible invasion of Asia Minor cannot stand, and conflicts with the actual facts.

The entire episode involving the battle of Phoenix, as has been pointed out, is most extraordinary. I shall attempt to give some explanation of the engagement, and even though this may conflict with the sources, it may provide some reasonable interpretation of the events.

In the light of an exhaustive examination of the extant data, a careful sifting of the sources, and of the sequence of actions that followed the naval clash, I have reached the conclusion that the Byzantine narrative conceals certain events that were not at all praiseworthy. I re-emphasize the point that the Byzantine chroniclers, especially Theophanes, loathed Constantine and strove to show that any unpleasant event that occurred took place as a punishment for his sins, since he was a supporter of the Monothelitic heresy and therefore a heretic.

It is well-nigh certain that the Egyptians had landed at Phoenix to obtain precious timber supplies for the fleet which they were building.¹⁹² The Byzantine flotilla arrived on the scene with the object of destroying the arsenal that had been installed at the site by the Arabs. It

192. Caetani, *op. cit.*, VIII, 92; Tabari, I, 2927 and 2865.

is most probable that they caught the Egyptian ships which were covering the operation unawares. The narrative of George the Monk is most extraordinary and should be scrutinized carefully.¹⁹³ He writes that the battle took place and “after this” the Emperor was informed by a loyal friend of a “conspiracy against him”. He then changed clothes and with a handful of supporters escaped in the night “unexpectedly saved”. The next day, the battle began, and so on. Thus in the narrative of George the Monk who copied the passage from a source contemporary with the event there are mentioned two distinct engagements between which the Emperor is informed of a conspiracy against his person. At nightfall he changes clothing with some one else who wears the imperial garments, and escapes. There is but one explanation for this action, the Emperor’s departure was kept a secret so as to give him time to escape. But certainly not from the Arabs who were unaware of his presence with the fleet and of the conspiracy against him. The plotters were therefore Byzantines. Had they been Arabs, the ship on which the Emperor was serving could have slipped away under the protection of the remnants of the imperial navy. There were remnants since another engagement took place the following day. Peculiar also is the phrase “unexpectedly saved” which is recorded by Theophanes, and therefore Cedrenus. It would appear that no one expected him to escape.

If we were to accept the fact that the Byzantine fleet was destroyed, what then happened to the Syrian and Egyptian fleets? The naval engagement took place in 655. How can we account for the gap. Up to the time of the battle, they were active in raids of the islands and so on, and emerged on the scene as a threat to the naval supremacy of the Empire. Why then did not the Arab fleet become more aggressive once the imperial armada had been destroyed and the seas were made safe for them? The suggested answer that Muawiyah was preoccupied with the Ali mutiny does not hold water. The struggle between the Arab leaders began almost immediately, but assumed greater dimension after 657. Moreover, the arena of military operations was in what is now Iraq. What possible relationship could the activities of the fleet have with these operations. We observe a complete disappearance from the waters of the Eastern Mediterranean of the Syrian and Egyptian fleet for a substantial number of years, whilst on the other hand, the Byzantine fleet continued to

193. George the Monk, pp. 716, 717.

control the seas. This could not possibly be a reasonable consequence of an Arab victory and the destruction of the imperial fleet.

It is my impression that after the surprise of the Egyptian flotilla at Phoenix and its destruction, which we can conclude from the information that the Egyptians suffered great losses, the Byzantines who had conspired against Constantine with the intention of murdering him and placing his brother Theodosios on the throne, decided to take action. Constantine was informed of the plot and escaped in the night after switching his wearing apparel with another. George the Monk and Cedrenus write, " ... the enemies surrounded him ... believing him to be the Emperor." Consequently, the following day, the conspirators who believed that they had nothing else to fear, attacked and slew the person whom they took for Constantine. In the meantime, the remnants of the Syrian flotilla, either in pursuit of the refugees from Tripoli, or because they were sailing to the aid of the Egyptians, reached Phoenix. There they fell upon the flank of the Byzantines who were fighting amongst themselves. Both armadas suffered heavy losses. The imperial fleet very soon restored its losses thanks to the numerous naval yards at their disposal. On the contrary, the Syrians, that is to say, Muawiyah, did not have the time and perhaps the required means to restore the fleet before the confrontation with Ali for the Caliphate. This in my opinion explains the entire chain of events which also can account for the rage of Constantine against his brother Theodosios, and for the disappearance for many years of the Syrian and Egyptian fleets from the Eastern Mediterranean.

CHAPTER III

AFRICA

Africa, as has been pointed out in paragraph 14 of Chapter I of the first volume, was in the early part of the 7th Century a prosperous and wealthy province of the Empire. With a thriving economy that was helped by secure sea communications fostering the expansion of trade with other provinces of the Mediterranean, Africa was one of the most flourishing parts of the Byzantine Empire.¹⁹⁴ Its wealth greatly impressed the Muslim chroniclers and geographers who describe the territory in the most glowing terms. Noweiri states that the country between Tripoli and Tangiers was a veritable garden dotted by an unbroken chain of villages and towns.¹⁹⁵

Africa had become an Exarchate¹⁹⁶ of which Sardinia, Corsica and the Balearic Islands were a part. I assume that after the Arab conquest of Egypt, Tripoli again fell within the administrative jurisdiction of the Exarch. It is mistakenly maintained by some scholars even today that Tripoli had been occupied by Amr. As I have mentioned elsewhere (Volume II, Chapter V), Amr plundered the territory, then withdrew. Arab chroniclers write that the rule of the patricius of Africa extended from Tripoli to Tangiers.¹⁹⁷

The Roman inhabitants of the province were few and far between. In the interior the great mass of the population consisted of Berbers and Mauretanians. These tribes frequently rebelled against the Empire and oftentimes had seriously threatened the existence of the Exarchate. The Byzantines, however, succeeded always, albeit after fierce fighting, to reimpose their rule. A period of peace had settled on the land from the

194. Diehl, *L'Afrique Byzantine*, p. 526.

195. Noweiri, Transl. by MacGuckin de Slane, in J.A. 1841.

196. See Volume I, Chapter I, par. 13 and 14 for the significance of the Exarchate.

197. Baladhuri, ed. Hitti, pp. 356, 357; Ibn Abd al Hakam, ed. Gateau; Ibn Adhari, Bayan, etc., ed. Fagnan; Diehl, op. cit., p. 532.

close of the 6th Century. Its inhabitants had been loyal supporters of the Heraclius family.

The Berbers consisted of numerous tribes and groups of tribes each of which possessed its own customs and traditions. They were ruled by a tribal chieftain. They were never in the position to be able to organize themselves into a state, or to live without the support and protection of foreign armies.¹⁹⁸ The various tribal chiefs received yearly subsidies from the imperial treasury. For these subsidies, they were expected to cooperate with the Empire in the event of military operations. Despite the financial aid, the Byzantines were never successful in acquiring the sympathies of the Berbers who had a deep-rooted distrust and hostility for them.¹⁹⁹

The need for economies and the bankrupt public treasury of Constantinople brought results identical with those in Syria. The money subsidies to the various tribal chieftains either ceased or were curtailed. As a result, there were many disturbances in the province and the ties between the Berbers and the Byzantines slackened even further.²⁰⁰ This of course did not mean that the native population ceased being within the Byzantine sphere of influence.

1

With the Arab advance into Egypt and the early defeats of the imperial armies, waves of refugees flocked to the African prefecture. Numerous priests, monks, and nuns abandoned looted or threatened monasteries. Those who had fled from Syria or Palestine to Egypt, now

198. Marçais, *Comment l'Afrique du Nord a été arabisée*, etc.

199. Caudel, *Les premières invasions*, etc., p. 43.

200. Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 239, also cites Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères*, I, 207, 208, to maintain that at the time also because of this displeasure, various powerful Berber tribes acted independently and the Byzantines retreated before the natives, withdrawing their garrisons to the towns. I do not believe Diehl's conclusions to be correct. The various Berber tribes always had their leaders and certainly lived within the Byzantine sphere of influence, even though somewhat independently. I have dealt with the matter in Volume I of this history. The Byzantines had very few troops in Africa, and as I shall explain in paragraph 2, it was to be expected that these would be concentrated in the towns of Africa.

moved on to Africa. The Eparch or Praefectus Praetorium who was responsible for the civil administration under the Exarch, gave what comfort and help he could to these numerous refugees.

Ecclesiastically Africa fell within the jurisdiction of Rome and since Rome no longer recognized the Monothel~~ic~~ic dogma, Africa also rejected it. Maximus the Confessor, now the most active and implacable foe of the new dogma, had also arrived in the province.

The events that took place in Africa at the time are known almost exclusively from the correspondence of Maximus. The refugees soon began to spread their own religious tenets. I presume that the Monothel~~ites~~ites supported their own dogma, and the Monophysites the one nature in Christ. It is reputed that many intrigues and disturbances occurred which forced the Eparch Praefectus Praetorium, George, to intervene, <I also assume that Maximus who attacked the advocates of Monothel~~itism~~ism unsparingly had much to do with these disturbances.>

Despite the intervention of the Eparch, the religious controversies continued unabated and created a dangerously explosive situation on account of which the Eparch and the Bishop of Cathage appealed to the Roman pope, the patriarch of Constantinople and the central administration. Soon there arrived an imperial order, reputedly by Constantine II, son of Heraclius, which instructed the Eparch to take all necessary measures against the "heretics" and to incarcerate in "orthodox" monasteries those of the monks who did not adhere to the rulings of the State and the Church.²⁰¹

The Eparch George immediately took severe measures and succeeded temporarily in bringing to a halt the propagation of the various religious dogmas. But after the death of Constantine and the enthronement of Heraclius II, it is reported that the attitude of the imperial court changed, for in November 641²⁰² the Chancellor Theodore arrived at Carthage with an order to the Eparch George to release the monks who had been imprisoned in two monasteries.

Maximus maintains in his correspondence that the monks of one monastery were Monophysites "of the heresy of Severus". But I do not

201. Letter of Maximus in Migne, P.G., 91, 460; Diehl, op. cit., p. 545; Héfélé-Leclercq, *Histoires des Conciles*, III, 401 and footnote; Bréhier, *Le Dèmeembrement*, etc., in Fliche et Martin, V, 160; Devréesse, *L'Eglise d'Afrique*, etc.

202. Letter of Maximus, in op. cit., 91, 460.

believe that Martina would have intervened on the behalf of monks who were Monophysitic. I rather suspect these were Monothelites since this was the official dogma of Constantinople at the time.

Relying always on the Maximus source, when the populace learned of the imperial order, it rose in protest and demanded that the order be rescinded. The Eparch George thereupon declared that the letter of Martina was spurious, and feigned anger against the Chancellor Theodore. He seized some of those who protested his actions, had them publicly scourged, while certain others, priests and monks, who also had objected to his nonfulfilment of the imperial order, were incarcerated in monasteries. Following this, as soon as the court at Constantinople was informed of the events, the Eparch George was summoned to return immediately to the capital and to give an account of his actions. This information from Maximus confirms that which I had written in Chapter X of the second volume, that is, that Heraclius II was dethroned in early 642.²⁰³

According again to Maximus, the people of Carthage wished to impede the departure of the Exarch, but finally an insurrection was avoided. It would seem that in all these incidents Maximus played a prominent part inciting all to resist.

The Exarch George openly supported Maximus. We do not know either the date or the reason for the arrival at Carthage of the self-exiled Patriarch Pyrrhus. The only information that has survived concerns a public "Argument" or "Debate" between Pyrrhus and Maximus. In July of the third Indiction (September 1, 644 – August 31, 645, hence July of 645), before the "most devout patricius Gregory", Exarch of Africa,

203. On the basis of the Maximus letter addressed to the Cubicularius John, the Chancellor Theodore arrived at Carthage in November 641 (the 15th Indiction). From the moment of the Eparch's refusal to execute the order of Martina, for a protest to be sent to Constantinople, an order to arrive from the capital recalling the Eparch, and his departure for the city, at least 2 1/2 months must have elapsed. Hence, the middle to the end of January 642. It is significant that Maximus had sent many letters to officials in Constantinople, friends of Martina, with whom he pleaded for intervention on behalf of the Eparch George. It follows therefore, that Martina had not lost the reigns of power up to the middle of January 642, and her son had not been dethroned, or, if he had been, the news had not yet reached Carthage. See Dölger, *Regesten*, Nos. 219 & 222, who dates the letters of Maximus to the cubicularius John in 642.

numerous bishops and other "devout and famous men", there took place in Carthage a debate between the Patriarch Pyrrhus and Maximus on the Monothel~~ite~~^{ite} dogma. From the text of this "Argument", we note that in the end Pyrrhus admitted that the dogma was false. The Exarch Gregory persuaded Pyrrhus and Maximus to visit Rome together.²⁰⁴ But I again point out that no Monothel~~itic~~^{itic} texts or documents of the period have survived, for they were all destroyed following the Sixth Ecumenical Council. Consequently, the only evidence we have comes either from Maximus or the records of the councils that met in the West. Of note is the fact that Maximus was an old friend of Pyrrhus before the latter became patriarch. There has survived correspondence of Maximus addressed to Pyrrhus in which he discusses the subject of the single energy and it appears that then he was not hostilely disposed to the theory.²⁰⁵

With the support of Pope Theodore and the Exarch Gregory, Maximus began to incite the population of Africa against Constantinople, taking complete advantage of the inability of the Byzantine court to react. It was a time when the Emperor Constantine III was still a minor. The court was preoccupied with the insurrection of Valentine, with checking the continual incursions of the Arabs in Asia Minor, the reconquest of Egypt, and the failure of the Egyptian expedition. Maximus was not concerned with the dangers that threatened the Empire, and the disturbances that his controversies caused. He was in fact accused (see Chapter V) of maintaining that God would not side with Byzantium as long as the family of Heraclius occupied the throne. At his instigation,²⁰⁶ the bishops of Africa summoned several synods with the sole purpose of condemning Monothel~~itism~~^{itism} and justifying the mutiny of Pope Theodore. Most of the synods met in the 4th Indiction²⁰⁷ (September 1, 645 – August 31, 646). The Synod of Numidia presided over by Bishop Colombus was summoned in 646.²⁰⁸ At about the same time the Synod of Byzacene (another province of Africa) also was held.

204. Maximus, in Migne, P.G., Vol. 91, 287-353.

205. Maximus, in Migne, P.G., 91, 590-597; Photius, Bibliothèque, ed. R. Henry, III, 87.

206. Héfélé-Leclercq, op. cit., III, 426; Diehl, op. cit., p. 551.

207. Mansi, X, 18.

208. Mansi, X, 761, 762.

The minutes of the Council were signed by Stephen and 43 other bishops of the "African countries". A Synod was convened in the province of Mauretania by the Bishop Reparatus about the same date. The synod in the province of Proconsularia was a bit late in meeting since the seat of the Bishop of Carthage was vacant.²⁰⁹ All the councils condemned the new dogma. Soon after the termination of the synods, the head bishops of the provinces drafted letters to Pope Theodore, to Paul "our brother presently at the head of the church of Constantinople"²¹⁰ and to the most noble "Emperor Constantine Augustus". The newly elected Bishop of Carthage Victor also sent a letter to Pope Theodore. Through these letters to the Pope, the leaders of the churches of Africa made known to him the decisions taken by the synods and requested that he forward these letters to the Emperor and the Patriarch Paul in which they are called upon to put an end to the controversy that separated the East and West. A special appeal was made to the Emperor that Paul be compelled to return to "orthodoxy". Africa was thus preoccupied with such religious matters at a time when the enemy was at its very gates. //And as Diehl so rightly points out, the inhabitants of the African exarchate were interested exclusively in their religious beliefs, and that what they believed was the true and only dogma. Without any hesitation or scruples or feelings of remorse, they were wholly indifferent to the fate of the Empire.²¹¹

2

In that period Gregory, the brother of Gregoria, spouse of the Emperor Constantine II, and son of Nicetas, the first cousin of Heraclius I, was Exarch of Africa. When precisely he was appointed Exarch is not known. The information that Noweiri supplies is not clear. At all events, according to Diehl, Gregory had already been Exarch for a number of years. But no source mentions anything specific about the matter.

The situation in Africa had become critical. Religious controversies resulted in disturbances and dissension. The repeated defeats of the

209. Héfélé-Leclercq, op. cit., III, 426; Diehl, op. cit., p. 551; Audollent, Carthage, etc.; Devréesse, L'Eglise d'Afrique, etc.

210. Mansi, X, 920, 921.

211. Diehl, op. cit., p. 553.

imperial forces, the weaknesses that wracked the imperial administration, the influence of Italy on Africa, all had contributed to the drift of the province away from Byzantium. Hostile sentiments against the administration continued to grow and eventually became predominant.²¹²

The reasons for the insurrection of Gregory and his proclamation as an independent emperor of Africa are unknown. The sources recording this event are also very niggardly. Theophanes writes that "in that year" Gregory "together with the Africans" rebelled. Michael the Syrian and other Eastern sources make identical statements.²¹³ At any rate, there are two problems that need further examination, the date of the insurrection of Gregory, and the causes that drove him to undertake such a drastic move.

1. Theophanes records three dates, Anno Mundi 6138 (A.D. 646-647). Michael the Syrian cites the year 958 (A.D. 647), or the 25th of the Hegira (October 28, 645 – October 16, 646). Such is the extent of information provided by the sources. It is my impression that Gregory rebelled after the failure of the Byzantine expeditionary force and its destruction in Egypt. Since the Arabs penetrated the African province in the 27th year of the Hegira when Gregory was already king of Africa, according to the Arab chroniclers, the insurrection must have occurred after the summer of 646 and before the close of 647. Those who support A.D. 646 rely upon the correspondence of the African bishops with the Pope in which letters the bishops maintain that unforeseen circumstances had made impossible direct correspondence with the Patriarch Paul. I do not believe this interpretation to be correct. The church of Africa fell within the jurisdiction of Rome, hence its leaders could not communicate directly with the head of another church, and in fact one who was considered a heretic, until receiving the approval of the head of their own church or through his offices. They had requested that their letters be brought to the attention of the patriarch of Constantinople only after the contents were approved by the Pope and through the legate of the church of Rome at Constantinople. It is my view that Gregory rebelled some time between the end

212. Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 180.

213. Theophanes, p. 343; Michael the Syrian, II, 440; Abul Faraj Bar Hebraeus; Anonymous Chronicle of the Year 1234.

of 646 and the beginning of 647, a chronology coinciding with that of Theophanes and Michael the Syrian.²¹⁴

2. As for the reasons for the insurrection, this is difficult to determine. Here again we must revert to conjecture. The incitement of the population of Africa against Constantinople brought on by Monothelism, created a climate conducive to autonomous or independence movements. The inability of the Byzantines to defend the Empire against the Arabs and their resounding defeat in Egypt strengthened the feeling that there was nothing to fear in the way of reprisals from the imperial capital. I believe that one of the basic reasons for the insurrection can be found in the aspirations of the Exarch which were constantly encouraged by the church of Africa. Undoubtedly the conduct of Maximus while he was still in Africa nourished these ambitions as did the admonitions of Pope Theodore.²¹⁵ It is reported that the warmest exhortations came from the Pope who advised him that he could rebel without fear of any repercussions.²¹⁶ The leaders of the African church, but only after the destruction that the province suffered, maintained that those in Constantinople unfairly mistrusted them.²¹⁷

Possibly a further incitement to rebel was the thought that by renewing subsidies to the tribal chieftains of his Exarchate, Gregory would acquire their support and would thus strengthen his position. As has been pointed out, Africa was a wealthy and economically flourishing province, and once the Exarch stopped the flow of tax payments and wheat to Constantinople, the income could be diverted to applying his policy more effectively to the various tribes in his province. It is quite possible that he was conducting just such a policy and had learned of

214. Diehl, *op. cit.*, pp. 555, 556, Becker in C.M.H., II, 367, and Bréhier, in Fliche et Martin, V, 165, as well as Aigrain, *op. cit.*, V, 225, accept the year 646. On the other hand, Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 400, Bury, *History, etc.*, II, 287, 288, and Kaestner, p. 34, say A.D. 647. Caetani also accepts the end of 646 with early 647, hence the 26th year of the Hegira.

215. Audollent, *Carthage Romaine*, p. 137; Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 556; Marçais, *La Berbérie, etc.*, p. 29.

216. Maximus, in Migne, P.G., Vol. 90, 111. It is reputed that the Pope had sent a message to Gregory through a monk saying that he had had a dream in which the Exarch would emerge victorious.

217. This is concluded from the records of the Lateran Council and the letter of Victor, Bishop of Carthage, to Pope Theodore. See Mansi, X, 943-949.

the displeasure of Constantinople at his actions. Again, I repeat that the sources provide absolutely no information of the events and of necessity the conclusions are at best conjectural.

The question now arises as to how the Exarch Gregory proposed to meet the troubled situation. He was obviously aware of the immediate threat facing Africa. And he would have known the defensive potential of his province.

As I have reported in the first volume,²¹⁸ the military forces of Africa were very limited. For the defence of the vast African province, he had available no more than 18,000 troops, which included a number of native auxiliaries drawn from the various subject tribes. These auxiliaries had some basic training in Byzantine military tactics. There were available, moreover, small local reserves that were used to garrison the town fortresses. He could, furthermore, obtain reinforcements from the different tribes of subsidized chiefs. But the reliability of such troops was questionable when bearing in mind their innate hostility to Byzantine officials. The two imperial flotillas of ships in the Western Mediterranean fleet were subject respectively to the Strategos of Sicily and the Exarch of Italy. Consequently, in the event of an attack by the Arabs, the only immediate help would come from Sicily or Italy. An insurrection against Byzantium would preclude any such possibility of immediate help for Africa from either of these flotillas, and therefore the Exarch would have to rely exclusively upon the small land forces in Africa.

The meagre forces of Africa were of little help to Egypt when that country was threatened and overrun by the Persians, nor could they be summoned to intervene when the Arabs invaded Egypt, Libya and Tripolitania, an invasion that occurred over a period of several years and therefore would have provided ample time for the organization of the armed forces, if these existed, for a counter-attack or as reinforcements for the imperial army. There of course exists the inevitable tale of treachery, which in my opinion is a total ~~myth~~ myth. There was yet another weakness which Gregory may have overlooked. The province of Africa had a series of fortresses and many walled towns that provided security to the inhabitants of the countryside in time of need. But these defensive positions had been built to meet attacks coming

218. Volume I, pp. 81, 82.

from the hostile native tribes of the interior or from assaults by sea. The entire system of fortresses provided little protection from attacks coming from an easterly direction.²¹⁹ And this is understandable, for up to that period, the entire eastern end of the African province including Libya and Egypt had been an integral part of the Byzantine Empire.

It appears that Gregory had the support of both the Roman and the native population of Africa.²²⁰ He minted coins with his head imprinted on the one side.²²¹ Gregory soon thereafter abandoned Carthage and moved to ancient Sufetula, the modern Sbeitla, which at the time was a wealthy and an extremely well-fortified town. Two different reasons are given for this move, one being that he had feared an attack against Carthage on the part of the imperial fleet, the other that he wished to establish his headquarters nearer the Berber tribes from whom he expected help in the event of an Arab attack. And Gregory was well aware of the nearness of the Arab threat. Without excluding the first reason, although Carthage was an exceptionally well-fortified city which would not be easy to occupy except by prolonged siege or treachery, I am tempted to accept the second reason as the most plausible. The Arab threat was immediate, and it could not be met effectively without the assistance of the Berber tribes of Numidea.

Before closing the paragraph, I would like to bring up another matter. It has been maintained that immediately after the rebellion of Gregory, there was sent from Constantinople a new Exarch who was installed at Carthage.²²² Diehl, Audollent and others have rightly rejected this information which at all events is not recorded in any source. Unknown also is the date when Africa again became a province of the Empire. Greek sources make no mention of this whatsoever, whereas the Arab sources (Noweiri, and so on) are so confused and imaginative that

219. Caudel, *Les Premières invasions*, etc., p. 40.

220. Theophanes, p. 343, writes, "with the Africans". I do not believe that Theophanes would have used the word "African" to describe only the Roman inhabitants of the province. The word is generally used by the chronicler especially for the natives.

221. Abd-al Hakem (or Hakam) in Appendix I of the 1st volume of Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane; Kairouani, *Histoire*, etc., p. 36. Carthage possessed one of the largest mints in the Empire.

222. Mercier, *Histoire*, etc., I, 196; de Slane in the introduction to *Histoires des Berbères* of Ibn Khaldoun, I, xix,

it is impossible to unravel the facts. But one thing is sure. Byzantium was so preoccupied with the Arab naval threat, with the numerous mutinies and insurrections, as for example of the Exarch Olympios in Italy or of Theodore Rstuni in Armenia, that she had neither the time nor the available means to deal with the African problem. It is also sure that Africa could not survive without an effective administration.²²³

3

In the meantime, in Egypt, with the recovery of Alexandria by Amr in the summer of 646 (the 25th year of the Hegira), Uthman again sent his foster-brother Abd Allah ibn Sad ben Abi Sarh²²⁴ to govern the province. I presume that he assumed the governorship of Egypt towards the end of the 25th year of the Hegira.²²⁵ Upon settling the taxation arrangements of Egypt, he began to dispatch to the West detachments of cavalry that ravaged the area almost as far as the frontiers of Tunis.²²⁶ These detachments with their rapid movement brought much booty to the Arabs whose appetite was whetted. But besides the plunder, they also brought back interesting news. As recorded in the previous section, the Exarch of Africa had revolted and proclaimed himself emperor between the end of 646 and early 647 (the 25th of the Hegira). It is my impression that Abd Allah thought that it was a good opportunity to conduct a grand razzia against the rich province now isolated from Byzantium. The abundance of loot gathered by the various bands of horsemen and camel riders, information concerning the extreme wealth of Africa, and certainly knowledge of its military impotency, incited the imagination of the Arab marauders. Abd Allah thereupon sought permission from his

223. Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 567; Lapeyre-Pellegrin, *Carthage, etc.*, p. 183

224. Abd Allah had been formerly secretary to Mohammed whom he abandoned for the Mecca faction, and for which reason Mohammed sought his death. But thanks to the intervention of Uthman, he was spared. See Ibn Adhari, ed. Fagnan, p. 3; Becker, in *E.I.*, new ed., Vol. I, p. 53.

225. Zambauer, *Manuel de Genealogie, etc.*, p. 25; Caetani, *Chronographia*, II, 290; Wüstenfeld, *Die Staatthalter usw.*

226. Baladhuri, ed. Hitti, p. 356; Ibn al-Hakam, ed. Gateau; En Noweiri, ed. de Slane; Ibn Ahdhari, ed. Fagnan; Al Maliki, ed. Idris; Caudel, *Les premieres invasions, etc.*, p. 51; Lapeyre-Pellegrin, *Carthage*, p. 177.

foster-brother, the Caliph Uthman, to launch a major expedition, but at the same time asked for reinforcements in men, for with his available forces in Egypt it would be impossible to occupy and control the vast area which he governed, and on the other hand, to prepare a sufficiently strong military force for the planned invasion. He was well aware of the fact that besides the wealth of the province, it possessed many fortified towns and an ample supply of troops to resist an invader who would risk the operation with a handful of men.

Uthman, remembering the reservations of his predecessors Umar,²²⁷ initially hesitated to give his blessing for the ambitious venture into distant and hitherto unknown regions. He summoned the companions of Mohammed (Noweiri, Ibn al Athir, Ubayd Allah) to a meeting. I presume this council which guided the fortunes of the Arab world consisted of the companions of the Prophet. All those present with the exception of one member agreed with the plan and the dispatch of reinforcements to Abd Allah. Uthman thereupon appealed to his people for a "Holy War".²²⁸ I believe, rather, that Uthman invited various tribes of the Arabian peninsula to send detachments of armed men to join the ambitious and profitable enterprise.

The warriors assembled at the camp of Al-Jurf, some three miles from Medina.²²⁹ Noweiri records in detail the tribes that had sent men for the formation of the expeditionary army. In fact nearly all the tribes of the Arabian peninsula were represented. Among the warriors who were to take part were the sons of the Caliph Umar, the Caliph Abu Bakr, of Amr and many companions of the Prophet.²³⁰ Uthman dis-

227. Tradition says that when Amr asked the approval of Umar for an invasion of Africa, the latter refused with the remark that "Africa is one of the Gates of Hell". See Aboul' Arab, p. 52.

228. Noweiri flourished in the 14th Century. At that time every war against non-Muslim areas was considered a "Holy War". But in the 7th Century when the rules of Mohammed were still faithfully adhered to, only those expeditions against heathens could be deemed "Holy Wars". To the Arabs, however, from the rumours and legends they had heard, Africa because of its wealth was considered the "promised land". See Marçais, *La Berbérie*, etc., p. 22.

229. En Noweiri, ed. de Slane; Ibn al-Hakam, op. cit., Al-Jurf was the usual site for the assembly of Arab troops near Medina. See Volume II, p. 47, and Baladhuri, op. cit., p. 165.

230. En Noweiri, op. cit.; Baladhuri, ed. Hitti, p. 356; Al-Maliki, op. cit.

tributed arms and provided camels for the poorer tribesmen. Marwan ibn -el-Hakem²³¹ was selected to lead the large force as far as Egypt. After Uthman's address the large body set out in the month of Moharrem in the 27th year of the Hegira (October 647). Upon arrival in Egypt, the expeditionary corps was placed under the command of Abd Allah who had in the meantime formed another corps drawn from the army of Egypt. Abd Allah left as his replacement in Egypt Okba and set out without further delay with the grand army in a westerly direction.

There is some question concerning the date of the expedition. Theophanes says A.M. 6139 (A.D. 647-648). The Syrian chroniclers record roughly the same date,²³² and the Arab historians say the 26th or 27th year of the Hegira. But the majority support the latter year of the Hegira.²³³ If we are to accept the information supplied by Hakam and Noweiri that the newly assembled army left Medina in October 647, then certainly the invasions would have begun at the end of that year. This chronology agrees with Theophanes and the Syrian chroniclers. Most modern historians also support the same date.²³⁴

Towards the end of 647, Abd Allah led an army estimated to number from 20 to 25,000 men into Tripolitania. He encountered the first resistance at Tripoli whose garrison, reinforced by warriors from the nearby Berber tribes, repulsed the assaults of the attackers. After a brief siege of the town, Abd Allah was forced to abandon Tripoli and to continue his advance further westwards. At Gabes he met a determined defence on the part of the garrison of the well-fortified town. The

231. Ubayd Allah calls him Al-Harrit ben al-Hakem.

232. Michael the Syrian, II, 440, who writes that the invasion began in the same year as the revolt of Gregory, hence 647. The Anonymous Chronicle of 1234, p. 203, supports the same chronology, whereas Al Makine says the 27th year of the Hegira, i.e., 647-648, Agapius records the year after the fall of Alexandria, and Elie Bar Sinaya, p. 85, the 27th year of the Hegira.

233. The 26th year is supported by Tabari, ed. Zotenberg, III, 560-562; Ibn al-Athir, III, 68-72, and Abul Fedae, I, 262. On the other hand, Baladhuri, p. 356, maintains the 27th year, although he writes that others support the 28th and 29th years. This chronology is highly improbable since Abd Allah was at the time preoccupied with the operation against Cyprus. Ibn al-Hakam, ed. Gateau, En-Noweir, transl. de Slane, Makrizi, ed. Casanova (p. 157), Suyuti, p. 160, Kairouani, p. 38, Ibn Khaldoun (I, 209), Baethgen, *Fragmente usw.*, 112, Ishaq (in Tabari, I, 2813), all support the 27th year of the Hegira (October 7, 647 - September 24, 648). See also Lévi-Provençal, *Un Nouveau récit, etc.*, pp. 25 (9).

companions of the Prophet advised Abd Allah to avoid the beleaguering of stoutly defended and strong-walled centers and to bypass them. Abd Allah sent numerous bands to plunder the areas roundabout and at the same time to gather provisions for the large army. Bypassing Gafsa, they advanced to Sufetula (Sbeitla) where, they had learned, the forces of Gregory were being concentrated.

Upon learning of the invasion, Gregory gathered as many of the regular troops he could from the meagre forces at hand, and appealed to the chieftains of various tribes for reinforcements. How many soldiers he was able finally to collect is unknown. The Arab chroniclers, with their customary unrestrained imagination, report that he assembled 120,000 fighting men, but no historian accepts the highly exaggerated figure. The well-fortified towns could not spare any of their garrisons and the fact that they were able to repulse the enemy attacks indicates that Gregory neither withdrew forces from the towns nor weakened their defences. Hence it follows that Gregory could not possibly have collected more than 5 to 8,000 regulars. As for reinforcements from the native auxiliaries, I do not believe that much more than 20,000 men, unacquainted with military tactics, answered the call for help. In the light of the above facts, I do not believe that Gregory would have more than 25 to 30,000 men of varying military worth.

After continuing his advance for some time, Abd Allah finally encamped in the plain of Akuba a day and night's journey from Sufetula.²³⁵ There Gregory had drawn up his army in battle array.

The engagement continued for some days and the outcome hung in the balance. The Arab chroniclers describe the battle in a completely fanciful manner (see Note X). In the final phase of the battle in an all-out effort, the Arabs broke through the ranks of their enemies and slew many. The survivors of the army of Gregory fled in retreat. According to the Arab accounts, Abdallah ibn Zubair, son of a companion

234. Diehl, *Le Monde Oriental*, p. 236; *Ibid*, *L'Afrique*, etc., p. 556; Bréhier, *Vie et Mort*, etc., p. 59; *Ibid*, in Fliche et Martin, V, 165; Brooks, in *C.M.H.*, II, 400; *Ibid*, *The Chronology of Theophanes*; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 426; Caudel, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Mercier, *op. cit.*, p. 196; Julien, *op. cit.*, II, 14; Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 172, 173 and 201-208; Weil, *Geschichte usw.*, I, 160, 161; Paparrigopoulos, III, p. 629; Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, I could add other historians who also describe the event.

235. En-Noweiri, ed. de Slane.

of the Prophet, slew Gregory after which the Byzantine army of Africa disintegrated.²³⁶ But Theophanes and the Syrians say that Gregory escaped from Africa. The latter in fact record that he proceeded to Constantinople where he made his peace with the Emperor Constantine and swore fealty to him.²³⁷ This version is not accepted today and most historians agree that Gregory lost his life in the engagement following which his army disintegrated.

With the dissolution of the imperial army of Africa, the Arabs, exploiting the confusion and panic that ensued, assaulted Sufetula which they captured and pillaged.

The Romans fled to the safety of the walled towns which all put up a stout defence. Meeting no organized resistance except in the towns, the Arabs were free to pillage and loot the countryside of the Byzacene Province (now southern Tunis) at will. To rid themselves of the predators and to prevent further destruction of their country, the elders and leading citizens sought negotiations with the invaders for peace. They were willing to make a certain payment in gold on the condition that the invaders departed forthwith from the province of Africa.

The Arabs in the expedition had no intention of permanent conquest and they soon had amassed vast quantities of booty.²³⁸ Already many wished to return to their native country to secure their share of the spoils. They saw, moreover, that they could not capture any other large towns, thanks to the resistance shown by the defenders. Following this, they agreed to negotiate the terms for withdrawal, not to receive a "tax" as some Arab chroniclers maintain, but to purchase outright their departure. The amount of the ransom money which was finally paid remains unknown. Theophanes reports that the Arabs "agreeing to the payment by the Africans they departed."²³⁹ Constantine Porphyrogenetus writes similarly.²⁴⁰

236. Baladhuri, p. 357; Ibn al-Hakam, ed. Gateau; En-Noweiri, ed. de Slane; Ibn Khaldoun, I, 209; Kairouani, p. 38; Ubayd Allah, ed. Lévi-Provencal; Ibn Adhari, ed. Fagnan. See also entry by H. Gibb in E.I., ned. ed. I, 57.

237. Theophanes, p. 343; Agapius, p. 219; Michael the Syrian, II, 441.

238. Baladhuri, p. 357; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane*, etc., pp. 29 & 34.

239. Theophanes, p. 343.

240. Constantine Porphyrogenetus, *De Adm. Imp.*, I, 84.

The Arab historians report that the price for departure was 300 quintals of gold.²⁴¹ Another version raises the sum to 2,500,000 dinars.²⁴² The share for each Arab warrior amounted according to El-Hakam, En-Noweiri and Abn Adhari, to 3,000 solidi for each horseman (2,000 for the horse and 1,000 for the warrior) and 1,000 solidi for the foot soldier, in other words, the total amounting to many millions of gold nomismata, a highly exaggerated figure for the period. One-fifth of the booty was deducted, in accordance with the Koran, for the benefit of the Muslim community.²⁴³

It has been maintained that the Arab invaders remained in Africa for from 14 to 15 months.²⁴⁴ I do not believe this correct since the departure would then have taken place in 649. But in that year Abd Allah was busy with the preparation of the fleet and the expedition against Cyprus. It is my view that Abd Allah and the Arabs left in 648 and before the expiry of the 27th year of the Hegira (September 648).²⁴⁵

Once again it should be pointed out that this operation was not one of conquest but a grand razzia into the province of Africa. The Arabs took advantage of the rebellion of Gregory to fulfil a favorite pastime, the undertaking of a profitable marauding expedition.

Although the razzia had no immediate consequences, it nevertheless proved unusually catastrophic to Byzantium. The expedition revealed to the Arabs the enormous wealth and at the same time the military weakness of the province.

The information on the situation in Africa following the withdrawal of the Arabs is negligible. Al Hakam maintains that Muawiyah ben

241. Baladhuri, p. 357. Hitti in fn. 2 writes that each quintal was equal to 1000 gold solidi. Ibn Khaldoun, I, 210. Slane in fn. 2 estimates 1,100 solidi per quintal. Noweiri concurs. Ibn Adhari, ed. Fagnan. On the other hand, Ubayd Allah, ed. Lévi-Provencal, reports that an agreement was made for payment of 300 quintals of gold yearly.

242. Baladhuri, p. 357; En-Noweiri. But Slane observes that it probably involved silver coins and that their value was the equivalent of 300 quintals of gold.

243. Brunschwig, R., Ibn-al-Hakam, etc.

244. Ibn Adhari; Ubayd Allah; Caudel, op. cit., p. 82; Paparrigopoulos, III, 629.

245. Ubayd Allah ben Salih records that ibn Zubayr reached Medina in the 28th year of the Hegira. This begins at the close of September 648, therefore, the Arabs may well have abandoned the province of Africa within 648.

Hudayg invaded and plundered the same region in the 34th year of the Hegira, that is, 654-655.²⁴⁶ But I do not believe this report. The 34th year was precisely the date for the preparations for the attack against Constantinople and the naval engagement of Phoenix. Muawiyah ben Hudayg did not enter the territory until the Caliphate of Muawiyah ibn Sufian, hence after 661.²⁴⁷

246. Ibn al-Hakam, *op. cit.*; Caudel, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Weil, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 162, 163.

247. En-Noweiri, ed. de Slane; Ibn Khaldoun, *op. cit.*, I, 211; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane*, etc., p. 30.

CHAPTER IV

ITALY

A description of the general administrative structure of Italy in the reign of Maurice has been given in the first volume of this history. At the time, Italy was first established as an Exarchate with Ravenna as capital. The Italian peninsula retained the same organization until the fall of the Exarchate of Italy. Perpetual wars hindered the strengthening of the Exarchate, and it had become virtually impossible for Constantinople to spare any regular troops for its defence.

In the latter half of the 7th Century, the Italian peninsula contained the following administrative divisions: the Exarchate with center Ravenna which controlled the area immediately round Ravenna and extended as far as the river Po to the North, in which the Exarch had jurisdiction over the Dukedom of Istria and Venice, the Duchy of the Pentapolis, the Duchy of Perugia that covered the fortresses in the Apennine passes and the Via Flaminia,²⁴⁸ the Duchies of Rome, of Ferrara, of Naples, and of Calabria.²⁴⁹ Sicily always comprised a special administrative province outside the jurisdiction of the Exarch.

The main body of the Byzantine army was stationed in Ravenna. But with the passage of time, the only actual imperial troops remaining were probably members of the guard of the Exarch. The remainder of the army consisted for the most part of militia drawn from the local population. One source in fact states that only those who were land-owners were inducted for military service.²⁵⁰ The Dukes who were originally appointed by the Emperor were eventually selected by the Exarch, especially after the preoccupation of the imperial court with its seemingly endless problems. These offices were usually occupied by large

248. An imperial highway linking Rome and Ravenna.

249. Hartmann, *Imperial Italy*, etc., in *C.M.H.*, II, 228; Diehl, *Études*, dans *l'Exarchat de Ravenne*, pp. 39, 40.

250. Romano, *La Dominazione*, etc., p. 294.

landowners and became eventually hereditary.²⁵¹ As a result of the existing situation understandably enough those who made up the militia (or the *exercitus Romanus*) felt much nearer the local leaders²⁵² and had very little sympathy for the distant, relatively unknown, and foreign-speaking Emperor.

In the meantime, and even as early as in the reign of Maurice, the imperial administration had not only allowed but encouraged intervention by the church in the affairs of the provincial governors. The church could report any complaints of oppression or harassment of its members directly to the Emperor himself. In such manner, and with time, there grew the custom of greater intervention on the part of the church, mostly through the popes, that enabled Rome to establish a dominant position and a certain control of affairs in Byzantine Italy.²⁵³

The Exarch, who was inevitably appointed by the Emperor, was usually selected from the more exalted ranks of the court. Various officials and civil servants assisted him in the execution of his duties.²⁵⁴

As I have so often pointed out, Byzantium's abandonment of Italy inevitably led to the growth of greater hostility to the imperial court and an increasing sentiment for independence. The daily threats of a Lombard invasion, the lack of military forces to ward them off, the perpetual defeats of the imperial armies at the hands of the Arabs, would all inevitably lead eventually to the rising power of the popes and a break with the distant Byzantine administration.

1

In that period, Isaac was the Exarch of Italy. His name first appears with the title in a letter of Pope Honorius.²⁵⁵ The letter is undated, but it was written after the enthronement of the pope. All scholars agree now that Isaac had assumed the office in 625,²⁵⁶ and probably at the

251. Ganshof, in Lot-Pfister-Ganshof, *Les Destinées de l'Empire*, etc. p. 224.

252. Lemerle, *Les Répercussions de la crise*, etc.

253. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

254. Diehl, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 f.

255. In M.G.H., *Epist. Pap.*, III, 694.

256. Hodgkin, *Italy and her invaders*, VI, 535; Hartmann, *Geschichte usw.*

end of October of that year.²⁵⁷ In the age of Pope Severinus there occurred an incident that is mentioned only by the *Liber Pontificalis*. Neither Paul the Deacon nor Agnelli record the event in their chronicles.²⁵⁸

It would appear that at the close of 638, the election of Severinus as successor to Pope Honorius displeased certain circles that were hostilely disposed to him and had sought the intervention of the Exarch.

The chartularius in Rome at the time was Maurice. The chartularii were next in the administrative hierarchy to the dukes to whom they were directly responsible.²⁵⁹ It is probable that he had then replaced the Duke of Rome who is not referred to even once throughout the period covering the incident.

According to the *Liber Pontificalis* (Vita of Pope Severinus), before Isaac's arrival in Rome, Maurice consulted with certain "wicked men" and with their help succeeded in inciting the "Roman army".²⁶⁰ It was reputed that the salaries of the military had not been paid for a long time and Maurice had claimed that the money was held at the Lateran, where a substantial treasure had been accumulated.

The troops led by Maurice then marched against the Lateran,²⁶¹ but were repelled by the guard which put up a determined resistance. The *Liber Pontificalis* adds that Maurice was able by guile to finally break in, and then before "judges" and other officials sealed the treasure that was in the palace. Following this, Maurice notified the Exarch Isaac who hastened to Rome. Isaac then exiled all the leading hierarchs of the church. No reasons are given for Isaac's action. The author of this *Vita* maintains that Isaac took such action to eliminate any possible opposition to him on the part of the clergy. According to the same source, Maurice remained in the Lateran for eight days and plundered the papal

257. Bertolini, *Il Patricio Isacio*, etc.

258. Duchêsne, in *L.P., Vita of Pope Severinus*, fn. 1, Vol. I, 329.

259. Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, VI, 541, 542.

260. The "Exercitus Romanus" is for the first time mentioned here. Up to the end of the 6th Century, the garrison of Rome was known as the "Numerus Theodosiacus".

261. Palace of the Lateran in the southeastern part of Rome. Pope Sylvester first resided in the palace in 320. See the geographical notes of the first volume of this history regarding the Lateran.

treasury, a portion of which was sent to the Emperor Heraclius.²⁶² I confess that this narrative leaves much room for doubt. Isaac was one of the most able Exarchs. Can one accept as fact that he plundered the treasures of the pope and so readily exiled the senior hierarchy in order that the latter not resist the looting of the treasury?—Who, after all, could dare resist the all-powerful Exarch? The facts of the actual events must, in the state of the sources now at hand, remain forever unknown, and it is impossible to make reasonable assumptions. It has been said that the looting took place to force Severinus to accept the Ecthesis.²⁶³ But this cannot be absolutely true. Severinus was negotiating and bargaining, either directly or through his legates, for the endorsement of his election. And when finally his election was approved (see Volume II), and he secured the throne, he hastened to condemn the religious content of the Ecthesis. But this occurred in June or July 640, whereas the incident of the chartularius Maurice took place in 639. Irrespective of this fact, it is not wholly true since the same writer in the *Vita* of Pope John IV, the successor of Severinus, claims that the latter pope had sent “much money” to Dalmatia and Istria to ransom Roman prisoners; moreover, that he had built churches and contributed “many vessels made of silver” to these. If in fact the treasury of the popes had been emptied a year or two earlier, where then did the money come from which was spent with such largesse by John, as the editor of the *Vita* records?²⁶⁴ The most reasonable assumption would be that the banishment of the various hierarchs did not take place at once, but in stages and throughout the entire course of the negotiations between Severinus and the Byzantines, and that officers and individuals who incited or influenced Severinus unduly against the regime were exiled or banished from Rome. These measures were taken to eliminate in Rome opposition to the religious policy of Byzantium. It is very probable that the biographer of Severinus preferred to blame the wickedness of Isaac rather than the policy of Byzantium for these measures.

262. *Liber Pontificalis*, *Vita* of Severinus, I, 328; Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Historia ... Pontificum*, Chapt, 72; Dandulo, *Chronicon*, p. 115; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, II, 213; Lot-Pfister-Ganshof, *op. cit.*, p. 219; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, II, 134; Romano, *La Dominazione*, etc., p. 300.

263. Romano, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

264. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, II, 213.

There is a sequel to the story which makes me believe that as simple a matter as looting was not involved. The chartularius Maurice had continued for years to administer the Duchy of Rome. After coming to some kind of agreement with the commanders of the military units in the Roman duchy, Maurice some time towards the end of 641 or the beginning of 642 mutinied, and it is reputed that he had hoped to be proclaimed king of Rome. As Diehl writes,²⁶⁵ the insurrection was fraught with danger. Maurice, as we know, had governed in Rome at least since 639 and succeeded in obtaining the support not only of the army of the duchy, but of the population both of Rome itself and of the entire duchy, so the insurrection assumed the nature of a national uprising.²⁶⁶

When Isaac was informed of the rebellion, he dispatched a strong force under the command of the Magister Militum, Donus. As the latter approached the city, panic seized the followers of Maurice, and many began to abandon him, while others sought safety in flight. A large part of Maurice's army deserted to join the forces of the Magister. Maurice then took refuge in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, but although the church was considered an inviolable asylum, Donus had him and his companions dragged out forcibly and brought them in chains towards Ravenna, but when they reached Ficucias,²⁶⁷ Maurice was decapitated and his head was carried to Ravenna where it was publicly displayed in the hippodrome as a warning. His companions were cast into prison, not to be released until the death of Isaac.²⁶⁸

2

A period of peaceful relationship existed in the Italian peninsula between the Byzantines and the Lombards until 636.

265. Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

266. Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, II, 138.

267. Ficucias, the modern Cervia, on the Ravenna-Rimini road.

268. L.P., *Vita of Pope Theodore*, pp. 331 f.; Hartmann, II, 214; Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, VI, 172, 173; Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 341; Homo, *Rome Médiévale*, pp. 29-31; Caspar, *Geschichte des Pappstums*, II, 528; Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, II, 138; Lebeau-St. Martin, *Histoire, etc.*, XI, 183, 184; Aigrain, *Les Papes et l'Italie*, V, 400 f.

Ariowald, king of the Lombards, was succeeded by the Duke Rotharis who had married Ariowald's widow. He was hostilely disposed to the Byzantines and decided not to renew the pact of truce.

The date of the opening of hostilities between the Empire and the Lombards is not known. Paul the Deacon, the only source for the period, is very brief and rather vague. Many contemporary historians have proposed various dates for the events that occurred in that period. To judge by an inscription on the tomb of the Exarch Isaac²⁶⁹ which relates, "having commanded well, he preserved Rome and the West ...", I would tend to agree with Ganshof and Bertolini²⁷⁰ that Isaac succeeded by various means to contain Rotharis until 643.

Rotharis launched an attack against the Exarchate with a powerful force, along the Via Aemilia route leading to Ravenna. Near the river Scultenna²⁷¹ the armies locked in battle, with the Exarch Isaac in command of the Byzantine army. After the bitterly fought contest in the course of which 8,000 imperial troops were slain including Isaac, the Lombards emerged victorious.²⁷² Such is the brief passage in Paul the Deacon which most historians tend to accept as factual. Yet, I have some reservations on the matter, for since the Lombards defeated the Byzantines who suffered such loss in men, why did they not continue their advance on Ravenna, but returned to the North again? This would lead me to believe that in actual fact the Lombards were not the victors²⁷³ but were stopped by the imperial forces after a bloody battle. The latter on the other hand, because of the death of their commander and the large number of casualties that their small army suffered, were not able to take further measures against the subsequent aggressive actions of the Lombards.

269. In the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum*, IV, No. 9869, pp. 574, 575. See translation in Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, VI, 189. See also Le Père B. de Monfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, Paris, 1702, p. 98.

270. Ganshof in Lot-Pfister-Ganshof, *op. cit.*, p. 218; Bertolini, *op. cit.*,

271. The river Panaro between Bologna and Modena.

272. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, IV, 45. That Isaac perished in the battle is concluded from the inscription on his tomb (see fn. 269) in which is recorded the words "having died gloriously". Since Isaac died in 643, such an epitaph could not be justified only if he were slain in the battle of Panaro.

273. It should be remembered that Paul the Deacon who wrote in the 8th Century generally praises the Lombards and is not very fond of the Byzantines.

After his failure against Ravenna, Rotharis collected a new army and advanced in 644 against the imperial possessions in Liguria. Exploiting the weakness of the Byzantine army, he occupied the entire province together with Genoa, from the ancient town of Luna in Tuscany on the bay of Liguria as far as the Frankish territories and along the entire length of the Italian Riviera.²⁷⁴

The Lombards moreover destroyed the fortress town of Aderzo in the Venetian hinterland. It is reputed and perhaps it is most probable that the occupation and destruction of this town occurred before the battle of the river Scultenna (Panaro).²⁷⁵

Rotharis finally agreed to a treaty of peace with the Exarch Olympius, but I would rather say a truce, for the Byzantines never recognized the new Lombard conquests. Olympius apparently wished to protect his flank in planning for his independence, and he did not wish to run the risk of a military diversionary attack when he was to launch his campaign against Sicily. Hence, the truce must have occurred in about 650.²⁷⁶

In this entire period, central Italy had been spared military adventures.²⁷⁷ On the contrary, the Lombard Duke of Beneventum attacked the duchy of Naples and occupied Salerno. The Duke of Beneventum continued for years to harass the duchy of Naples.²⁷⁸

The patrician Isaac had been Exarch of Italy from 625 to 643, and he is considered one of the most efficient of Italy's rulers. His widow had an inscription which still survives placed on his tomb in the Church of S. Vitale.

As soon as Constantinople was informed of the death of Isaac, the court immediately appointed as his successor Theodore Calliopas.²⁷⁹ The latter in turn, probably in 645, was succeeded by the patrician Plato. In

274. Paul the Deacon, *op. cit.*; Hartmann, *Italy under the Lombards*, C.M.H., II, 203; *Ibid.*, *Geschichte usw.*, II, 243; Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 199, but who dates the occupation of Liguria in 640; Lot-Pfister-Ganshof, *op. cit.*, p. 218; Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, VI, 188.

275. Hartmann, *Italy, etc.*; Aigrain, *Les Papes et L'Italie*, V, 397.

276. Hartmann, *Untersuchungen usw.*, fn. 118; *Ibid.*, *Geschichte usw.*, p. 244.

277. Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, II, 137.

278. Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Hodgkin, VI, 73 and 244; Lambros, *History, etc.* III, p. 727; Lewis, *Naval Power, etc.*, p. 59.

279. *Liber Pontificalis*, *Vita Pope Theodore*; Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, II, 138.

649 we find the cubicularius Olympius as Exarch. In 652 or 653, Theodore Callippas²⁸⁰ was reinstated in the office and held it for over ten years.²⁸¹

Rotharis, who died in about 652, was succeeded by his son Rutwald, who in turn was succeeded by Aripert, Duke of Asti (653-661). The latter successfully imposed his will over the other Lombard leaders and was able to maintain a peaceful co-existence with the Byzantine Empire to the end of his reign.²⁸²

3

Before continuing with the narration of events in 7th Century Italy, I should make a few remarks concerning the position of the head of the church of Rome within the Empire for a better understanding of the major occurrences in the peninsula.

There existed in Byzantium in this century five major seats of Christendom. These were in accordance with the various ecumenical councils in the following order of seniority: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.²⁸³ The head of each church was wholly independent the one from the other, and their place in the list was but one of precedence.

Caesaropapism prevailed in Byzantium. The Emperor was both the civil and the religious leader of the Empire. In the days of the former Roman Empire, the Emperor was also the Great Pontifex, (Pontifex maximus), and this tradition was inherited by Byzantium. Constantine the Great proclaimed himself ~~arch-priest~~ ^{ἐκκλησιαστής}, and all successive emperors deemed themselves guardians of orthodoxy and heads of the church.²⁸⁴ In his Ecclesiastical History, Socrates writes, "since the sovereigns became Christians, the affairs of the church were dependent upon them

280. Diehl, op. cit., p. 173; Hartmann, Geschichte usw.; Ibid. Untersuchungen usw., pp. 15 f.

281. Hodgkin, op. cit., VI, 536.

282. Lot-Pfister-Ganshof, op. cit., p. 219.

283. Parthey, Hieroclis, etc. et Notitiae Graecae, etc.; Rhallis and Potlis, Constitution, etc., V, 455 f.; Conidaris, Order, etc.

284. Diehl, Justinien et la civilisation Byzantine, Paris, 1901, Vol. II, p. 316.

..."²⁸⁵ At all ecumenical councils which only the emperor could summon, he was acclaimed as highpriest. The Emperor Theodosius II was greeted with the acclamation, "Long life to the High Priest Emperor".²⁸⁶ The emperor was the representative or vicar of God on earth. He ruled the church as he ruled his subjects.²⁸⁷ In a letter to Pope Gregory II, Leo III described himself as "Emperor and Priest".²⁸⁸ By this principle, the hierarchy of the church was subject, albeit a senior subject, of the Emperor and it owed absolute obeisance to him.²⁸⁹ The church deemed the existence of the Empire as essential for its well-being, and therefore recognized the Emperor as supreme leader of the church.²⁹⁰

In Rome the Ostrogothic kings believed they had the right to appoint the bishop (Pope) of Rome.²⁹¹ Naturally this right was retained after the recovery of Italy by the Byzantines, since the precedent had already existed, and in Byzantium as well as other church seats, the bishop (patriarch) could not be consecrated unless appointed or approved by the Emperor, who, I repeat, was the supreme leader of the church.

With the passage of time, it became customary for the Exarch, the representative of the Emperor in Italy, to allow the election of the pope by the bishops of Rome, then send the name to the Emperor in Constantinople. The newly elected pope had to submit a certain payment after which the Emperor approved or rejected the choice. The confirmation, I repeat, was the exclusive right of the sovereign. No enthronement could take place without previous imperial ratification. This right was not, as I have explained above, a mere formality.²⁹² It should be

285. Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, 5, in Migne, P.G., Vol. 67, 565; Papoulidis, C., in "Byzantina", Vol. III, Thessaloniki, 1971.

286. Mansi, VI, 734.

287. Diehl, *Etudes*, etc., p. 110.

288. Mansi, XII, 975 f.

289. Moss, *The Formation*, etc., C.M.H., IV, 22, new ed.; Foaks-Jackson, *The Papacy*, in C.M.H., II, 686; Hartmann, *Geschichte usw.*, II, 186; Pirenne, *Mahomet*, etc., p. 36; Stefanides, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 149 f.

290. Pirenne, *op. cit.*

291. Gabriel le Bras, *L'Eglise Romaine*, etc.

292. Duchèsne, in L.P., I, XXXVII; Diehl, *Etudes ... l'Exarchat de Ravenne*, p. 180; Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Foaks-Jackson, *op. cit.*; Moss, *op. cit.*; Runciman, *La Civilisation*, etc., p. 126; Gabriel le Bras, *L'Eglise Romaine*, etc.

pointed out that normally a person known to the circles of the court was elected. This explains the fact that it was not mere coincidence to find candidates who, for the most part, had served as legates at Constantinople and were therefore known to the Byzantine court.²⁹³

In the light of this principle whereby royal approval was required for the final enthronement of a new pope, it is not surprising that the newly-elect who violated this tradition was considered an insurgent and revolutionary, subject to sanctions on the part of Byzantium, and was not recognized as the legitimate pope by Constantinople. It is of interest to note that the principle of imperial approval of the candidate was to be retained even when the popes were subjects of the Western kings from the 9th Century onwards.

4

Following the death of Pope Severinus, John of Dalmatia was elected to the see. It appears there was no objection raised to his candidacy. It may well be that the Byzantine court, with the illness of Heraclius I and the dangers facing the Empire from the continuous attacks of the Arabs had wished to avoid additional problems in Italy. Thus, following endorsement of his election, John IV was duly enthroned on December 24, 640.

The Vita of John contains very scant information of his activities in the short duration of his papacy amounting to about 22 months. The only incident recorded is that he had sent the abbot Martin (who was subsequently elected pope) with a large amount of money to ransom Roman prisoners in Dalmatia.²⁹⁴

With the supposed letter of Pope John to Heraclius and the latter's reply, which has been touched upon in Volume II, I will not deal further except to point out once more that no such correspondence has been found. In the synodical letter to his peer, the Patriarch Pyrrhus of Constantinople, he again condemns the content of the Ecthesis. But he did not pronounce any excommunications²⁹⁵ as some scholars wrongly maintain.

293. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

294. L.P., I, 330; Anastasius the Librarian, *Historia de Vites, etc.*, Chapt. 73.

295. Héfélé-Leclercq, *Histoires des Conciles*, III, 393.

Some time later, he sent a letter to Constantine (?) supporting the position of Pope Honorius and calling for the repudiation of the *Ecthesis*. The factional strife, according to Brooks, did not permit further developments in the matter, but the Byzantine court let it be understood that the *Ecthesis* would be revoked.²⁹⁶ At all events, no epistle of Constantine (either the second or the third) has survived and the above incident is only hinted at in a letter of Pope Theodore to the Emperor Constantine III.

Some have maintained that the letter (the reply of Constantine to Pope John) was written by the Patriarch Paul who sought "the approval of the Pope for his election as Patriarch".²⁹⁷ I must again point out that every patriarchate is independent the one from the other and that the right of confirmation or the rejection of a candidate is held *only by the Emperor* of whom all patriarchs are subjects.

Pope John IV died on October 12, 642 and was succeeded by Theodore,²⁹⁸ a Greek by descent whose father was, according at least to his *Vita* in the *Liber Pontificalis*, bishop of Jerusalem.²⁹⁹

With Theodore's election as Pope there began a new era in the relationships between Rome and Byzantium. The new Pope was to display much fervor and obstinacy.

At the local synod which met soon after his enthronement, Theodore also condemned the dogmatic content of the *Ecthesis*. I say specially "dogmatic" because much misunderstanding has arisen here. Most contemporary historians, relying unduly on the sources, support the

296. Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 399; Hartmann, op. cit., II, 219.

297. Kaestner, *De Imperio*, etc., p. 53, who writes the astounding fact that Paul had sought from the Pope the "approval" of his election. See also Héfélé, op. cit., III, 399. One must remember that the Pope does not approve the election of his peers the patriarchs, as the latter have no right to interfere in the election of the Pope.

298. *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 331; Anastasius the Librarian, op. cit., Chapt. 74, who says the first year of Constantine (641-642); *Catalogus Pontificum Romanorum*, VI, 133.

299. Duschêne, in his édition of the L.P., pp. 331 f., writes in fn. 1 (p. 333) that the lists of the bishops of Jerusalem do not mention any Theodore who could possibly be the father of Pope Theodore. Therefore, the statement in the L.P. should not be taken literally, but that either Pope Theodore himself or his father, the Bishop Theodore, came from Jerusalem.

contention that Theodore did not accept the Ecthesis. Precisely the same problem will recur in the following chapters, and I think it not out of place to clear up the matter once and for all. As has been pointed out in the second volume of this history, the Ecthesis was an imperial "edictum" as Theophanes records³⁰⁰, which bears the signature of the Emperor. As an edict it becomes *obligatory for all* subjects of the Empire *hence also for the Pope himself*. But the edict contained also dogmatic tenets that directly concerned the Christian faith. Only on this aspect of the contents therefore could the various churches have any reservations or objections if in fact they could exercise such right of objection. Of the edict, as an administrative decree, there could be no criticism. If such an action were taken, it would be tantamount to mutiny and naturally be castigated as a penal act. One should therefore ignore the expressions, "he accepted this", or, "he refused to sign that", and so on. A subject of the Emperor neither signs an edict nor accepts nor rejects it, especially in that era when despotic rule was so absolute.

Following the synodical decision, Theodore sent without delay the conventional synodical epistle in which he recorded his beliefs and described his position on the various dogmatic themes which was obligatory. The synodical letter has survived.³⁰¹ Theodore, moreover, chastised the Patriarch Paul for occupying the patriarchal throne *before it had been vacated*. He insisted that, "the hatred of the populace could not deprive anyone of bishopric rank". He added that a synod be summoned to depose Pyrrhus canonically. The attitude of Pope Theodore was absolutely proper. Since Pyrrhus had neither resigned nor had been deposed by decision of the synod of his see, that is, the patriarchate of Constantinople, the patriarchal throne was not vacant, and hence could not be filled.

Theodore also sent letters to the bishops who had invested Paul, suggesting that they proceed without delay with his dethronement.³⁰² Moreover, another was sent to the Emperor in which he suggested that if Pyrrhus could not be deposed in Constantinople because he may have

300. Theophanes, p. 330. Probably a corruption of the word "Edictum", meaning edict.

301. Migne, P.L. 87, pp. 75-80; Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Regesta usw.*, No. 2049; Mansi, X, 702-705.

302. Migne, P.L. 87. pp. 81, 82; Jaffé, etc., Nos. 2050 & 2052.

had the support of many powerful friends in the capital, then he should be sent to Rome to be tried by a synod there,³⁰³ and I presume he meant an ecumenical council since a synod of the see of Rome could not depose the head of the church of another see.

And lastly, it is reputed that Theodore expressed his dismay with the fact that the *Ecthesis* continued to be displayed in the narthex of St. Sophia although it had been renounced!³⁰⁴ Duchêsne rightly observes that the assertion of the Pope that a promise had been made to invalidate the *Ecthesis* is groundless. Nowhere, except in Zonaras, is mention made that Constantine II had practiced a religious policy contradicting that of his father. Nor would he have had the time to take such a step.³⁰⁵ Constantine III had as his adviser the Patriarch Paul who to the very end insisted on supporting the religious policy of his predecessors.

The archdeacon Sericus and the deacon Martin, legates of the new Pope, carried the letters to Constantinople. They were in all likelihood composed and delivered in 643.

The legates had prolonged discussions with the Patriarch, and finally Paul wrote to Theodore explaining his thoughts on the whole business. This letter has not survived, and is referred to only in the records of the Lateran Council of 649.

Pyrrhus and Maximus arrived in Rome towards the end of 645. The entire Pyrrhus affair is most extraordinary. I will relate it on the basis of the sources. It is reputed that Pyrrhus submitted to Pope Theodore a "statement of orthodoxy".³⁰⁶ As the *Vita* of Theodore records, the presentation of the statement by which Pyrrhus over his own signature condemned or renounced all "that had been written or done by him and his predecessors ..." took place in the Church of the Apostles before an assembly of the clergy and people. Immediately thereafter the Pope ordered that the throne of Pyrrhus be placed next to his and he honoured Pyrrhus as the rightful Patriarch of Constantinople.³⁰⁷

303. Migne, P.L. 87, pp. 75-80.

304. Hergenröther, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, II, 321; Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 399.

305. Duchêsne, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, etc., p. 435.

306. Theophanes, p. 331; *Synopsis Sathas*, p. 110; Zonaras, III, 315; L.P., pp. 331-333; Bedae, *Chronica*, p. 342.

307. L.P., p. 332; Hartmann, *Geschichte usw.*, II, 220; Duchêsne, *op. cit.*, p. 438; Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 400; Peitz, *Martin I, usw.*

The turnabout of Pyrrhus created quite an impression in the West. Already in Africa local synods were being summoned at the instigation of Maximus to condemn Monothelitism. The Church of Cyprus, with its head the Archbishop Sergius, had accepted the synodical epistle of Theodore and had agreed fully with his views.³⁰⁸

After a time, and specifically in 646, Pyrrhus visited Ravenna. While there, upon receiving the protection of the Exarch Plato, he officially retracted the "statement of orthodoxy".

When Theodore learned of the new recreance of Pyrrhus, he summoned the clergy of Rome to the Church of St. Peter where he excommunicated Pyrrhus and deposed him from the patriarchal throne.³⁰⁹ This was an unprecedented action in view of the fact that no canonical law or decision by a synod gives the Pope such rights. But more about this in the next paragraph. In fact, according to Theophanes, the excommunication took place in an "astonishing" manner (see Note XI).

The entire attitude and conduct of Pyrrhus is quite extraordinary, and it is difficult to account for his constant changes of mind. It may be that he was bound in some way or other, fearing that he could not return to Constantinople nor live freely in the West, and therefore submitted to the relentless pressures of Maximus, of the African Exarch Gregory, and so on. Later, when he received assurances that he could return to Constantinople and succeeded in leaving Rome, probably with the assistance of the Exarch Plato, he reverted to his former attitude with regard to Monothelitism, for, after all is said and done, one cannot ignore the fact that Pyrrhus was the author of the *Ecthesis*. At all events, his conduct is not creditable, nor does it reveal the actions of a man of character and consistency of beliefs. Pyrrhus soon thereafter, under the protection of the Exarch Plato, departed for Constantinople.³¹⁰

308. Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 400; Hefélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, III, 400, 401; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, I, 283.

309. L.P., p. 332; Bedae, *op. cit.*; Synopsis Sathas, p. 110; Zonaras, 315. Yet another proof that Pyrrhus had not resigned from the patriarchal throne, for if this had happened, his dethronement (from what?) would not have been significant. See also Theophanes, p. 331, who states explicitly that the Pope had deposed Pyrrhus.

310. Theophanes, p. 331; L.P., p. 332.

After the Pyrrhus affair and the decisions of the African synods, Pope Theodore again wrote to the Patriarch Paul. Apparently believing that his dethronement of Pyrrhus was regular and canonical, he now looked upon Paul as the rightful patriarch. From the latter he had sought the final nullification of the *Ecthesis*.

All the incidents involving Theodore and Paul, and the actions of Theodore against Paul, as well as Paul's activities against the representatives of Theodore, are known to us only from the records of the Lateran Council. No other letter with the exception of that cited has survived.³¹¹

At Theodore's injunction, the legates insisted that Paul write a confession of faith by which the dogmatic contents of the *Ecthesis* would be refuted. They delivered finally the reply of Paul in which he insisted on his religious tenets and supported the position which the Patriarch Sergius and Pope Honorius had taken before him.³¹²

In reply, Theodore took another astonishing step by dethroning his colleague and excommunicating him.³¹³ Upon learning of the actions of Theodore, Paul straightway sealed the palace of Placidia wherein resided the permanent legates of the Pope and forbade any church service to be conducted in the chapel. The legate Anastasius protested vigorously at which the officials seized him and banished him in September 647³¹⁴ to Mesembria or to Trebizond. Two of his aides, Theodore and Euprepus, were apprehended at Abydos from where they had attempted to flee to Italy, and were exiled to Cherson.³¹⁵ Others were imprisoned and yet others were scourged.³¹⁶

311. See fn. 13 of Duchêsne, in *L.P.*, p. 335.

312. Migne, *P.L.*, 87, pp. 92 f.; *L.P.*, p. 333; Mansi, X, 878; Hergenröther, *op. cit.*, II, 322; Bréhier, *Le Démembrement des Chrétientés*, etc., V, 165.

313. *L.P.*, pp. 333, 336; Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, III, 431; Diehl, *Exarchat de Ravenne*, etc., p. 405.

314. Peitz, *op. cit.*

315. Pargoire, *L'Eglise Byzantine*, pp. 162, 163.

316. *L.P.*, *Vita Martin*, p. 336. All the information derives from the speech of Martin at the Lateran Council. Bedae, *Chronica*, p. 342.

I shall now deal briefly with the unusual attitudes that the Popes began to assume in this period.

Up until the enthronement of Pope Theodore, friction may well have existed between Rome and Constantinople, but in principle no head of one church interfered in the affairs of the other. The precedence of the Bishop of Rome and the "equal honour of that of the New Rome (Constantinople)³¹⁷ had been established by the canons of the Ecumenical Councils. I should again like to point out that the papal see was not the powerful and wealthy see which we know today. It contained in those days nowhere near the populations and wealth of the sister churches. Its extent in area was vast, but its members were few in number, since the largest part of the Goths were as yet of the Arian faith and did not recognize the Pope. It was precisely for this lack of population that the province of Illyricum (the Balkans and Greece) and that of Africa were put under the jurisdiction of Rome.

Before the disruptive schisms brought about by Nestorianism and Monophysitism, the two great churches were those of Alexandria and Antioch. But after the breakaway of the Nestorians and the Monophysites immediately before the Arab invasions, the most populous and wealthy church was that of New Rome (Constantinople) which, moreover, was located in the new capital of the Empire.

It is true that throughout the course of this entire turbulent period, some head of one church, in a moment of rage, excommunicated another, yet he never interfered in the affairs of the other church. The extraordinary action of Pope Theodore in passing an anathema on his equal the patriarch, a right which he did not possess, naturally caused a quick reaction and much agitation in the Christian world. Yet this action was but a beginning step in the growth of complete independence of Rome and its supremacy over the other churches. It should be remembered that of the five great churches, only two at the time had remained free in the wake of the early Arab invasions.

Theodore was not satisfied with anathemas and depositions alone (which, however, Constantinople ignored), but took other actions as well. The Patriarch Sophronius had sent as his legate to Rome Stepha-

317. Parthey, *op. cit.*; Konidaris, *General Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 386 f.

nos, Bishop of Dora.³¹⁸ After the fall of Jerusalem, he had remained in Rome. Upon the death of Sophronius the Arabs did not allow the election of a new patriarch of the see of Jerusalem. As Vicar of the see, probably at the recommendation of the bishops and perhaps the approval of the Emperor, Sergius, the Bishop of Joppa (Jaffa), was elected. When Jerusalem had been occupied by the Persians, he had held the same office.³¹⁹

Theodore was determined to intervene also in the affairs of the church of Jerusalem. Since he originated from that city, he believed he had a say in its affairs. He therefore appointed Stephanus as his Vicar and sent him to Jerusalem with instructions to dismiss all those bishops who had in the meantime been ordained by Sergius of Joppa. And understandably Stephanus soon encountered the opposition of the bishops of the ancient see of Jerusalem who rejected any interference on the part of Rome.³²⁰

Finally, Stephanus was forced to abandon his mission and retired to the monastery of Saint Theodosius where he remained until 649 when he returned to Rome.³²¹

All such actions were indicative of the tendency of Theodore to regard himself as the spiritual leader of the whole of Christendom. He was, moreover, hostilely disposed towards Constantinople and was indifferent to the attempts to unite East and West. His enmity was to lead to the incitement and support of the rebellious Exarch of Africa, Gregory. A few years later, another Pope was to encourage and to help the Exarch Olympius of Italy in his efforts to become an independent sovereign. It was therefore inevitable that this hostility would lead in time to a complete rupture between Byzantium and the hierarchs of the church of Rome even though in many instances there existed unusually normal relationships between the two.

318. Dora or Burg el-Tantura, in Phoenicia. According to Hierocles, the bishopric of the cathedral city of Palestinian Caesarea which lay north of Caesarea.

319. See Vol. I, p. 252.

320. Honigmann, *La date de l'homélie*, etc.

321. Papadopoulos, *History, etc. of Jerusalem*, p. 272; Héfèle-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, III, 432 f.; Bréhier, *op. cit.*, V, 166; Pargoire, *op. cit.*, p. 154; Hergenröther, *op. cit.*, II, 322.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS DISPUTES

The extraordinary series of events that took place in Rome in the period from A.D. 642 to 647 understandably troubled the central administration. The Emperor was yet young, having attained the age of seventeen in the latter year, and as always when the sovereign is under age, various cliques were formed at the court that tended to rule the Empire in his stead. The overall situation, moreover, was not very happy. Arab incursions into Asia Minor were made with monotonous frequency. The energy and thrusts of the Arabs had not abated for a moment. The situation in Armenia was most disturbing, although it was not yet fraught with danger. The total failure of the serious efforts to reconquer Egypt had disheartened Constantinople. The activities of Maximus in Africa brought on serious disturbances. Maximus did his utmost to rouse all circles against Byzantium, and his incitement together with the explosive situation that had been created in Africa culminated in the rebellion of the Exarch Gregory and his proclamation as sovereign. For such mutinous activity, Africa paid the heavy price of predatory raids at the hands of the Arabs. But the price to Byzantium was equally heavy, for besides losing temporary control of the African Exarchate, she once again revealed her inability to respond immediately to the needs of the province. And such weakness fostered breakaway tendencies in other provinces of the Empire.

On the other hand, it was extremely difficult for an absolute and despotic administration to accept the attempts of the popes to broaden their power and their tendencies to interfere in the affairs of other churches. It is true that from time to time throughout the centuries, the popes and patriarchs had excommunicated each other, but such interference or excommunication was considered inadmissible. As Brehier writes,³²² the Roman church maintained that it had the right (?) of

322. Bréhier, *Les relations normales entre Rome et les Eglises d'Orient*.

dogmatic and disciplinary control over the entire church. Yet no other church recognized or admitted such prerogatives of Rome.

When the Byzantines were confronted with these unrestrained and disturbing activities that in 647 had brought on strained relations between Rome and Constantinople, both the imperial administration and the patriarch came to realize that they could no longer remain indifferent to the abnormal situation.

1

The administration quite naturally supported a dynamic intervention for, after all, was not the Emperor the "Vicar of God on earth", and was he not only head of the state but leader of the church? ³²³

The patriarch on the other hand advocated a more conciliatory policy. Despite what his detractors have said, it appears that Paul was a mild ecclesiastic and strove by means of persuasion to bring about some kind of compromise. Constantine, too, who was averse to dogmatic contention, appears to have favoured a conciliatory policy:

I tend to believe that Paul had realized the solution given to the religious problem did not bring the desired results, but on the contrary, had brought further dissension between the official church and the churches of the East, initially with the introduction of the single energy in Christ, then by the single will. But in Rome, after the death of Pope Honorius who had understood the political needs of Constantinople and had accepted the compromise solution, the successor popes rejected out of hand any such compromise.

The pursuance of such policy, without bringing the Eastern churches (Monophysites, Nestorians, and so on) any closer to Constantinople, brought Byzantium at greater variance with the West. The Eastern provinces had been lost primarily because of the hostility of the native populations to anything Roman or Greek. It is certain that the hope and the thought always existed of some day recovering these provinces. But this was for the distant future. For the moment, some manner of agreement or appeasement would have to be found not only for the West, but for the Byzantine subjects themselves, many of whom opposed the new religious dogma. But it was a difficult matter to disavow all pre-

323. Diehl, *Etudes Byzantines*, p. 110.

vious acts and edicts, for then this would be tantamount to disavowing Heraclius, grandfather of the Emperor, the man who, despite the grievous nature of his death, still remained in the minds of the Byzantines the illustrious hero. Nor could the Patriarch Paul censure the acts of his predecessors, especially of Sergius, the saviour of Byzantium. But most of all, he could not accept the demands of Rome, that is, the excommunication of his predecessors. Some compromise had therefore to be found which would not offend the emperors or the patriarchs, would satisfy the religious dissenters, and also mollify the West. In other words a political formula was called for.³²⁴ This could therefore take but one form, that of a law which would not broach dogmatic disputation by forbidding all kinds of religious contention and would abrogate previous edicts of dogmatic content, such, for example, as the *Ecthesis*. The imperial law was obligatory for all subjects and if there were no christological content therein, no problem would theoretically at least arise.

After prolonged discussions, the Patriarch Paul and the administration submitted to the eighteen-year-old Emperor for his signature the edict known as the "Type" concerning the faith. The Byzantine chroniclers make no reference to the Type. But the Latins, on the contrary, from whom we have our only knowledge of the matter, record that Paul beguiled "the very meek prince", that is, the Emperor, into issuing the "Type" which threatened to destroy the Catholic dogma.³²⁵ Another chronicler³²⁶ informs us that being deceived by Paul, the Emperor acceded to the heresy of "the headless one's".

This edict has survived only in the records of the Lateran Council.³²⁷ Again I point out that the Byzantine chroniclers maintain absolute silence concerning the "Type".

The edict takes no stand whatsoever in the dogmatic disputes that racked the Empire at the time, nor does it touch upon any theological argument.³²⁸ At the opening it declares that the Emperor acts for the good of the Empire, but because he had observed that "my orthodox

324. Diehl, *Le Monde Oriental*, p. 238.

325. L.P., I, 336, in *Vita of Martin*; Andrea Dandolo, *Chronicon*, pp. 117, 118.

326. Paul Warnefriedes, *Geschichte usw.*, p. 261. This is a poor translation of Paul the Deacon.

327. Mansi, X, 1029.

328. Héfélé-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, III, 433; Ostrogorsky, *History, etc.*, p. 106; Bury, *History, etc.*, II, 293.

subjects" were disturbed by the various factions of which one maintained two energies and two wills in the person of Christ, and others believed in one and only such, he henceforth forbade any discussion of these matters and would punish severely those who did not obey the provisions of the edict. It also proclaimed that the form of religion must be maintained and that all should adhere faithfully to the Holy scriptures, to the traditions and the decisions of the five Ecumenical Councils, and so on. At the end it ordered the removal of the *Ecthesis* from the narthex of Saint Sophia. By removing the *Ecthesis* and by insisting on the decisions of the Councils, Constantine was in effect vindicating mostly the Westerners,³²⁹ for he banned all discussions on the single energy and single will, which hopefully in this manner would with time fall into oblivion.

In such manner did Constantine hope to set at rest the religious dissensions that so debilitated the Empire. It was indeed a sensible and discreet political move on his part. I do not agree with those³³⁰ who compare the edict of Constantinople with that of Zeno when the latter had issued his "*Henoticon*"³³¹ as a formula for agreement. Zeno had avoided mentioning the Fourth Ecumenical Council, that of Chalcedon. On the contrary, Constantine, who as I have pointed out, abhorred dogmatic contention,³³² explicitly recognized the decisions of the five Councils, and limited himself to these five only because he did not wish to officially condemn Monothelitism, which he hopefully would let fall gradually into limbo.³³³

329. Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 432-434; Mansi, X, 1029; Gennadius, *History*, etc., p. 241.

330. Lambros, *History*, etc., III, 723; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

331. Edict issued in 482 by the Emperor Zeno in an attempt to find a basis of compromise between Monophysites and Chalcedonians.

332. Barker, *Justinian*, etc., p. 252.

333. Naturally the edict aroused the indignation of the Monothelites. Since all argument on the wills of Christ were banned, the new dogma, of which the only religious content was the single will in Christ and no other Christological reference, would be forgotten with the passage of time. With the disappearance of the *Ecthesis*, that is, the text containing such dogma, the only official document by which it could be supported would no longer be available. After all, before the *Ecthesis* was issued, no one referred to one or two wills of Christ. By banning Christological disputes, at least on the "wills", the Christian world returned to the situation existing previously, that is, before 630.

The edict was impartial³³⁴ yet did not satisfy the Westerners who would accept no kind of compromise and especially sought the condemnation not only of the dogma but of its authors.

The edict of Constantine was issued at the close of 648.³³⁵ At all events, Pope Theodore displayed no reaction against the edict. It is recorded that he died long before he could even study the text of the "Type".³³⁶ But can this be a fact? If the Type was issued at the end of 648, how could the Pope be unaware of its content when he died on May 13, 649. There are two possible explanations: either Theodore was pleased with the content which was in substance a victory for the Westerners, or the edict was issued in the first half of 649, and probably in May or June of that year. But the latter date does not appear to be substantiated by the texts.

2

The narration of events that took place in this period is indeed most difficult, making the task of the historian or scholar very delicate. Views have been supported that do not agree completely with the historical facts. Unfortunately, even to this day, some 1300 years after the events, it is with the greatest difficulty that one can be objective and historically accurate. I shall attempt, in any case, to relate the events as they appear to have occurred on the basis of existing sources in as objective a manner as possible. But before moving on with the narration, and since I shall have to give my interpretation of certain of the events, I will again reiterate that which I have already pointed out. We should not regard the position of the pope, the spiritual leader of countless millions of Catholics today, through modern spectacles, that is, as a completely independent leader of a great church and, before the final unification of Italy, as the leader of a state. The pope in the 7th Century was a subject of the Emperor, and had not yet become the leader of a great church, for the Lombards were still Arians, and the Franks had not yet turned to Catholicism en masse. Within the ecclesiastical family, the

334. Hergenröther, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, II, 322. It is a mistake of Hergenröther to maintain that Constantine compelled all the bishops and legates to sign the new edict. I should here again point out, since many scholars still insist on supporting these false notions, that the edicts are signed *only* by the emperor and are obligatory for all subjects.

335. Dölger, *Regesten*, No. 225.

336. Hefélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

pope had only the oldest see. He was the first among equals and certainly not above other patriarchs in power.³³⁷ On the other hand, the Roman emperors up until the very fall of Constantinople were deemed as absolute rulers, indeed to a degree that is astonishing to our minds. The church was subject to the state, and because the emperor was the state, the church naturally was subject to the emperor.³³⁸ The reader should bear these facts in mind to understand more clearly the course of events in this dark period of Byzantine history.

Pope Theodore died on the 13th or 14th of May 649.³³⁹ The situation in Rome then was very uncertain, firstly because of the war with the Lombards and secondly, and especially, because of the dispute with Constantinople. For these reasons, the electors assembled without delay and chose Martin as the new pope.³⁴⁰ He had served on various missions on behalf of the previous leaders of the church. John had sent him to Dalmatia to ransom some prisoners and to recover some heirlooms of the church. Pope Theodore sent him as his delegate in the negotiations with the patriarch and the Byzantine court.

This election was a kind of defiance of Constantinople,³⁴¹ for it was a well known fact that the candidate was not a favorite of the Byzantine court since he had taken a factious stand against the court and the patriarchate.³⁴²

It is not known whether approval of the election was sought from Constantinople. On this point the sources are silent. At all events, at the time there was no Exarch present in Italy to intervene.³⁴³

Martin was installed as Pope without, as explicitly required, awaiting approval of his election. He assumed his duties on July 5, the 8th year of Constantine,³⁴⁴ "irregulariter et sine lege episcopatum subripuisse",³⁴⁵

337. Bréhier, *Les relations normales*, etc.; Konidaris, *The Metropolitans and Archbishoprics*, etc.

338. Stephanides, *Church History*, p. 149; Hodgkin, VI, 257.

339. Grumel, *La Chronologie*, p. 431; Hefélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

340. L.P., p. 333; Anastasii, *Historia de Vites*, etc., Chapt. 75.

341. Caspar, *Geschichte usw.*, II, 553.

342. Stephanides, *Church History*, p. 245.

343. Hartmann, *Untersuchungen usw.*, p. 15.

344. Anastasii, *Historia de Vites*, etc., Chapt. 75.

345. Un canonically and illegally he occupied the see.

as the Byzantines record.³⁴⁶ As I pointed out in paragraph three of Chapter V, the approval of the emperor³⁴⁷ was not only a mere formality. Without royal endorsement no one could be ordained pope or patriarch. This illegal action on the part of Martin followed by the flagrant violations of the provisions of the Type were looked upon as a challenge to the authority of the emperor and the imperial administration.³⁴⁸ On these grounds Martin, who was not recognized as the regularly elected Pope, was subsequently accused of, among other transgressions, occupying the papal throne irregularly.³⁴⁹

Maximus was at the time in Rome and had been most active inciting opposition to Constantinople. He finally succeeded in urging Martin to summon a Council in Rome.³⁵⁰ The synod had hoped to assume the stature of an Ecumenical Council and was the first in history that was summoned without the previous sanction of the emperor.³⁵¹ The grounds given for the summoning of the Council was that "many orthodox from various lands (?) submitted ... accusations against, etc ..."³⁵²

The Council met in the church of the Saviour, known as *Constantiniana*,³⁵³ near the Lateran. More than 500 representatives, of whom 105 were bishops, attended.³⁵⁴ No bishop from the area of the Italian peninsula occupied by the Lombards attended, nor any bishop other than

346. Mansi, X, 852.

347. In this period the sanction of the emperor was required, and not that of the Exarch, as Ostrogorsky mistakenly maintains in his *History*, etc., p. 106. The transfer of this right to the Exarch was to take place later in the reign of Constantine IV.

348. Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 401.

349. Duchèsne, *L'Eglise au VI siècle*, p. 441; Aigrain, *Les Papes*, etc., V, 402.

350. Theophanes, p. 331; Zonaras, III, 314; Peeters, *Une vie grecque*, etc., No. 1 of the text; Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate*, p. 76.

351. Pepe, *Le Moyen Age barbare en Italie*, p. 153.

352. L.P., p. 336; *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, p. 416.

353. Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Regesta*, for the year 649; Hefélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

354. L.P., p. 226; Bedae, *Chronica*, p. 343; Dandulo, *Chronicon*, p. 416; Romualdi Salernitani, etc.; Godefridi Viterbiensis, p. 125; *Gesta Epis. Neapolitanorum*, p. 416; Eligii Noviovagensis, p. 689; Jaffé-Wattenbach, *op. cit.*; Mansi, X, 863, records 106 bishops by name, but Theophanes, on the contrary, mentions only the figure of 150 bishops.

from the Roman see.³⁵⁵ It is reputed that Martin invited delegates from the Frankish kingdoms to attend, but no Frankish bishop appeared. Moreover, 37 Greek abbots, monks and priests, residents of Rome and probably refugees from the provinces conquered by the Arabs, were also present. At their head[?] was Maximus and the abbot of the Monastery of St. Sabbas of Palestine. The influence of the Greek element at the synod was considerable and it was most active and obdurate in the deliberations of the assembly. Maximus was the guiding force and mentor of the gathering.³⁵⁶ Many Greek clergymen submitted the creed of faith that was asked of them, written in Greek. Mavros, Archbishop of Ravenna, was unable to attend personally, but sent a letter to Martin in which he reported that the people of the city refused to let him depart, "because of the intrigues of the neighbouring nations" (probably inferring the Lombards), but he requested that he be deemed as present at the assembly, and that he was in complete accord with the views of Martin.³⁵⁷

The opening meeting took place on October 5, 649, the 9th year of Constantine, in the 8th Indiction.³⁵⁸ The odd fact is that all the meetings were conducted, "in the name ... of our lord sovereign Constantine ...".³⁵⁹ Five meetings in all were held on the 5th, 8th, 17th, 19th, and 31st of October respectively. The minutes were translated straightway into the Greek. During the Council a letter was read to the august assembly from Sergius, Archbishop of Cyprus, which had been addressed in 643 to Pope Theodore. Also read were the decisions of the local African synods of 646. Stephen, the Bishop of Dora in Palestine, who had been specially invited by Martin, reported that the Monothelitic dogma had spread widely throughout the East, and he protested that

355. Duchèsne, *op. cit.*, p. 442; Bréhier, *Le Démembrement des Chrétientés*, etc., V, 167; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 106; Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-436.

356. Mansi, X, 910; Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 439; Lemerle, *Les répercussions*, etc.; Konidaris, *General Church History*, p. 457; Brooks, in *C.M.H.*, II, 402; Caspar, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. LI (1932).

357. Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 103-106.

358. Bedae, *Chronica*, p. 343; Mansi, X, 863. This chronology indicates that Constantine III was crowned co-Emperor at the end of September 641 (see Vol. II, Chapt. X), which would mean that in early October he was beginning the 9th year of his reign. The 8th Indiction begins Sept. 1 649 - August 31, 650.

359. Mansi, X, 863 f.

Sergius, the Bishop of Joppa, had usurped the Throne of Jerusalem with the assistance of the civil authorities.³⁶⁰

Martin avoided any direct affront of the Emperor or his forebears, and concentrated his attack against the patriarchs of Constantinople, Sergius, Pyrrhus and Paul, as well as Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria. He openly denounced Monothelitism even though no one any longer discussed the dogma.³⁶¹ He asked the Council to proscribe the *Ecthesis* (although it had already been withdrawn), the *Type*, and to excommunicate Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul and Cyrus. The four patriarchs were duly anathematized by decision of the synod.³⁶² Moreover, the Council reaffirmed the canons of the Council of Chalcedon. But the Council, which was purely of local nature, proceeded even further afield by adding 20 canons to the dogma of the two wills³⁶³ which were not contained in the established canons of the five recognized Ecumenical Councils. I have not made a deep and thorough study of the subject, but at first glance it would appear that no synod in the see of one church could possibly add new canons to the already existing canons that had been recognized and passed by the Ecumenical Councils, that is to say, by all the Christian churches. This is precisely what Pope Honorius had written in a reply to the Patriarch Sergius. He believed that no new matter should be inserted in the religious dogmas which an Ecumenical Council had not touched upon and which only an Ecumenical Council could legitimately resolve.³⁶⁴

Martin sent a copy of the minutes of the synod to the Emperor accompanied by a letter in his name and that of the synod. The letter is addressed "to Our Emperor, the most devout and serene and triumphant son, believer in God and Our Lord Jesus Christ, Constantine Augustus,

360. Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 439. But he does not say which civil authorities. Palestine was then in the hands of the Arabs and was divided into two Arab Djund (military districts).

361. Fliche, *La Chrétienté Médiévale*, p. 106.

362. Theophanes, p. 331; Cedrenus, p. 755; Mansi, X, 853 f.; L.P., p. 337; Michael the Syrian, II, 431; Bedae, *op. cit.*, p. 343; Amantos, *History, etc.*, I, 326; Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*; Hergenröther, *op. cit.*; Bréhier, *op. cit.*, V, 168; Brooks, *op. cit.*; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*; Konidaris, *op. cit.*; Diehl, *Exarchat de Ravenne, etc.*

363. Mansi, X, 1151 f.

364. Mansi, XI, 537 f.; Grumel, *Recherches sur l'histoire du Monothélisme*.

etc.”,³⁶⁵ and begins with an exhortation to the Emperor calling upon him to condemn the Monothelitic heresy. Then he attempts to convince him that the synod deemed Paul solely responsible for the signing of the Type, as formerly Sergius had influenced his grandfather Heraclius to issue the Ecthesis.³⁶⁶ No letter was sent to Paul since he had been excommunicated.³⁶⁷

Copies of the minutes of the synod with the encyclical letter of Martin were sent to the sovereigns and the Bishops of the West and the East, and to “all Christians”.³⁶⁸ Letters also were sent to the Frankish kings Sigibert II, Clovis II, and the Bishops in their territories,³⁶⁹ as well as to the African Bishops, and so on. It is reputed that Saint Eloi, Bishop of Noyon in Galatia, was favorably disposed to Martin and suggested that he would himself visit Constantinople to support his cause.³⁷⁰ It is also maintained that Martin sought the support of the heretical Arian king of the Lombards Rotharis,³⁷¹ but there is no indication or serious evidence to substantiate the claim.

Martin continued interfering in the affairs of the East where Pope Theodore had left off. After the dismissal of Stephanus, Bishop of Dora, Martin appointed as his vicar and locum tenens to the throne of Jerusalem John, Bishop of Philadelphia (Amman) in Jordan. In a letter addressed to the latter,³⁷² he assigns him the right to appoint and ordain

365. Mansi, X, 789-797; Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 139-146. The letter is signed by Martin, and the representatives of the synod Maximus, Bishop of Aquilia, Deusdedit, Bishop of Caraltitanus, and Mavros of Caesene, on behalf of Mavros, Archbishop of Ravenna.

366. Mansi, X, 794.

367. Duchêsne, *op. cit.*, p. 443, writes that it was not sent to Paul because he had been deposed some time earlier. This matter I have examined in the previous chapter. The Pope had no power to depose. A copy of the letter was not sent to him because the head of the Council could not correspond with a person who had been excommunicated by the synod of the Roman see.

368. Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 119 f.; Mansi, X, 1169-1184; Jaffé-Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, Nos. 2054, 2059, 2063, 2064, etc.; Brooks, C.M.H. II, 401; Hergenröther, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

369. Vita Eligii, etc., p. 690; Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 256.

370. Vacandard, *Vie de Saint-Ouen*, etc., p. 234.

371. Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, VI, 257.

372. Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 153-164; Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 451, 452; Hergenröther, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

bishops, presbyters, and so on, and adds that he does not recognize Macedonius as Patriarch of Antioch because he considers him a heretic, nor the appointments made by him. He also attacks Peter, Patriarch of Alexandria, or, as he writes, "the so-called and false Bishop of Alexandria", whom again he does not recognize as patriarch. He adds instructions for replacing those who were not orthodox, and so on. But it appears that since the Bishops of Palestine and Syria neither gave heed to his instructions nor recognized John of Philadelphia, Martin was forced to write letters to the bishops, archimandrites and other leading clergy of the churches of Antioch and Jerusalem, asking that they support his vicar. In these letters he again returns to the attack against Macedonius and Peter, and maintains that on the basis of the "power given by the Lord through Peter, the first of the Apostles", he had appointed John, etc.³⁷³ In another letter to the priest Pantaleon, Martin complains of the reaction against his locum tenens and the support for Sergius, Bishop of Joppa, by the church leaders in the area.³⁷⁴

At about the same time a rupture occurred in the relations between Martin and Paul, Archbishop of Thessaloniki.

The entire province of Illyricum (the Balkan peninsula except Thrace) had initially been subject to the pope. The pope's vicar and locum tenens for the entire region was, after the destruction of Sirmium, the Archbishop of Thessaloniki.

In 649 Paul³⁷⁵ became Archbishop of Thessaloniki and legate of Rome. Concerning the rupture between Martin and Paul we have no other than the Western sources and primarily those originating in Rome. According to these sources, the legates of Rome had assured Martin that the Bishop was a bona fide orthodox. Following this report, Martin sent a confession of faith for the Bishop to sign. The legates were persuaded by Paul that he sign another document, the text of which avoided expressions involving "energy" and "will". And understandably so, for Paul whose seat was nearer the imperial capital feared severe sanctions against himself that were foreseen by the Type. Despite Martin's abhorrence of this doctrinal edict, it was compulsory for all subjects of the Empire.

373. Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 175-180; Papadopoulos, *History of the Church of Jerusalem*, p. 272; Pargoire, *L'Eglise Byzantine*, p. 154.

374. Honigmann, *La date de l'homélie du prêtre Pantoléon*, etc.

375. Letsas, *History of Thessaloniki*, II, 76.

Following the termination of the Lateran Council in November 649,³⁷⁶ Martin wrote to Paul a stern warning and notified him of his decision to depose him from his see and to excommunicate him “until all the decisions ratified by the Council are accepted ... and you excommunicate all those we excommunicate as heretics ... and the impious Ecthesis and the more impious Type ...”³⁷⁷

Martin also sent an encyclical letter to “the believers in Christ, clergy and people of the city of the Thessalonians, the holy ...”, in which he announced the deposition and excommunication of Archbishop Paul and asked that no one communicate with him.³⁷⁸ We know nothing further about the reactions of Paul or of subsequent developments in the incident.

3

The only extant sources to deal with subsequent events derive exclusively from Western sources, and particularly from the church archives of Rome.

As I have written in the first paragraph of this chapter, it is very doubtful whether approval for the election of Martin was sought from Constantinople. Many contemporary historians support the contention that approval was requested but was not forthcoming.³⁷⁹ I do not believe this to be accurate. I would say, agreeing with Duchêsne,³⁸⁰ that

376. Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 181-192.

377. Mansi, X, 833-844. Hertzberg (*History of Greece*, I, 220), wrongly maintains that Paul was dethroned and excommunicated when he refused to support the decisions of the Lateran Council. The final meeting of the Council took place on October 31. Martin's letter is dated in November, hence there was not enough time for what Herzberg writes to occur. The deposition and the anathema took place at the same time as the dispatch of the minutes of the Council.

378. Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 193-198; Mansi, X, 843-849; Jaffé-Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, Nos. 2071 and 2072; Hefélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 453; Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 401; Bréhier, *Le Démembrement*, etc., V, 168; Tafrali, *Thessalonique des origines*, etc., pp. 270 f.; Letsas, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

379. Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 401; Bréhier, *op. cit.*, V, 167; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Hartmann, *Geschichte usw.*, 224.

380. Duchêsne, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

no approval of the election was sought. I presume that the Byzantine court was most perturbed upon learning of such an unheard of action. It was looked upon as a mutinous act for which the perpetrators must be duly punished. But at that time, the Byzantines were so preoccupied with the first appearance of the Arab fleet and the Arab attack against Cyprus that no steps were taken to counteract these activities. They had, moreover, problems with the incursions of the Arabs in Asia Minor and religious differences with the Armenians.³⁸¹ These urgent problems caused a postponement in the counter-measures of the imperial administration. The court was even more disturbed when informed of the summoning of a Council, again without the sanction of the Emperor. The worst aspect of the entire affair was that the Council was directed against a law of the Empire, against the Type, by which an attempt had been made to bring a halt to religious dissension. Such repeated disrespect for an imperial order and disregard for the administrative processes would inevitably lead to penal measures. It was something more than a simple provocation, and understandably such action caused much anger and indignation in the capital,³⁸² and in fact especially when the ruler of the Empire was a young sovereign, aged 19, energetic, and unwilling to accept any curtailment of his long-established and traditional rights. The matter had left the realm of religious controversy to become a purely political issue.³⁸³

At that time, the cubicularius Olympius, a person holding one of the more exalted offices of the court, was appointed Exarch of Italy where he arrived with no uncertain directives from the imperial capital. When he was appointed and when he arrived at his new post is unknown, but we can make some fairly accurate estimate. Olympius reached Rome before the Council ended.³⁸⁴ Undoubtedly, he first visited Ravenna before going on to Rome. On the basis of this information we can conclude with some certainty that Olympius quitted Constantinople in about August 649 and reached Rome towards the end of October of the same year.

381. See Chapt. II, para 1.

382. Fliche, *La Chrétienté*, etc., p. 106.

383. Pepe, *Le Moyen Age Barbare en Italie*, pp. 153, 154.

384. L.P., p. 337; Duchêsne, n. 6, p. 339 of L.P. and *L'Eglise*, etc., p. 446; Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 107; Bréhier, op. cit., V, 169; Gregorovius, op. cit., p. 143; Héfélé-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 454.

We are ignorant of the instructions given to Olympius. The Vita of Martin in the Liber Pontificalis makes some reference to the directives he had received. But Rome refused to treat the affair of Martin as a political issue, for this reason the information we have conflicts not only with historical truth but with reason itself. For the Vita writes, "... if you do not meet ... anyone that agrees with the Type which was issued by us, you must compel all the bishops there ... to sign the document ... and all the bishops of Italy must be forced to sign ...".³⁸⁵ I have but one comment to make on this odd information, and that is that the law or the edict is never signed either by bishops or by the clergy. Hence the above source contradicts the actual facts.

Another directive he received (always according to the L.P.), was to arrest Martin, provided the army was willing to help. This information also I find impossible to accept. Would it be at all possible for an Emperor to order his general to impose the laws of the Empire but on the condition that the army would agree? I am forced to dissent with all historians who support such a contention. These interpretations were, in my opinion, recorded to justify the subsequent attitude of Olympius.

Olympius arrived in Rome while the Lateran Council was still in session, therefore, before the end of October. It is very probable that initially Olympius was intent on executing the directives he had received. But he was to find a totally unexpected state of affairs. The entire body of clergymen of the Roman see that had assembled at the Council was united in supporting Martin. Even the army, which was comprised exclusively of the local militia, supported Martin. Many Greek clergy, I am sure, had approached him to dissuade him against any moves to harm Martin, and among these undoubtedly the eloquent Maximus. Olympius soon became aware of the hatred of the Westerners for Byzantium, the passions that were then current against the imperial administration, and quite probably realized the difficulty in implementing the directives he had received.

According to the L.P., Olympius first attempted to bring about a schism in the unity of the Westerners, but this attempt failed. Following this (always according to the L.P.) he decided to have Martin murdered through one of his "spatharioi", but the latter failed because

385. L.P., p. 337, See also fn. 5 of Duchêsne on p. 339.

he went suddenly blind and could not see his intended victim Martin at the very moment of the attempted assassination! This of course was sworn under oath by the "spatharios"³⁸⁶ to be a fact! When Olympius (still according to the L.P.) saw that "the hand of God himself ..." was watching over Martin, he was forced to seek his friendship. And then he confided to him all the directives he had received.

But the matter was not as simple as projected by the L.P., for Martin was accused of inciting Olympius to mutiny. At his trial, Martin was unable to refute the charges against him, but only contended that he could not withstand the pressures from the all-powerful Exarch.³⁸⁷ At least, this is what Martin subsequently wrote.

It is my impression that when Olympius came to Rome, the various Greek and Italian clergymen who approached him kindled and nurtured his ambitions. Olympius was well aware of the weakness of the Empire. He obviously realized that with the support of the army and the people of Italy he could possibly become an independent sovereign. It is also probable that Martin urged him to such a course of action, for Martin undoubtedly wished to break with the detested Empire of the Greeks and preferred to be ruled by a king with whom he could cooperate. The Exarch Eleutherios in 619³⁸⁸ had made a similar attempt to break away from the Empire. But when Olympius decided to make the move is unknown. At all events, he was not long in ceasing to obey the directives of Byzantium and began to rule as an independent monarch in the West. It is not known whether he actually proclaimed himself sovereign. This rebellion of Olympius,³⁸⁹ many facets of which we are totally ignorant, greatly agitated the imperial court. It appears that his independent rule began in 650. For a year or two he moved throughout the Italian peninsula as undisputed sovereign. It is in fact reputed that he had the support of the entire Byzantine army of Italy.³⁹⁰

386. L.P., p. 338. Duchêsne, op. cit., p. 466, rightly doubts the story; Hodgkin, op. cit., p. 258.

387. *Commemoratio*, in Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 113 f. But if in fact the Exarch was all-powerful and no one should oppose him, what then hindered him from fulfilling the instructions he had received?

388. See Vol. I, pp. 121, 122.

389. Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 107; Brooks, op. cit., p. 401; Bréhier, op. cit., p. 169; Hartmann, op. cit., pp. 225 f.; Hodgkin, op. cit., p. 258; Romano, *La Dominazione*, etc., p. 302; Diehl, *Exarchat de Ravenne*, p. 342.

390. *Commemoratio*, op. cit.; Diehl, *Exarchat*, etc., p. 342.

But there were some obstacles which Olympius would have to surmount in order to assure the success of his enterprise, these being the war with the Lombards in Italy and the matter of Sicily which was a byzantine province but not part of the Exarchate and could thus pose a threat to his flank.

The Lombards had continued warring against the Empire but no longer with any outstanding success. Olympius could not have his piece of mind and dominate Italy as long as the Lombards were able to threaten Rome and Naples. We do not know how he succeeded in making a peace agreement with them, but possibly through the intervention of Rome. In about 650-651, long before Rotharis died, Olympius obtained a truce on the basis of the status quo³⁹¹ and the payment of a certain amount of tribute.

Following this success, and after assembling all the Byzantine army of Italy, he began his advance in the direction of Sicily in 651 or at latest in early 652. Here arises a great problem. Why did Olympius march against Sicily? Unfortunately, the entire episode is most perplexing and so mysteriously confused that most historians³⁹² today believe that his purpose in marching to Sicily was to throw back an invasion of the Arabs! There are two aspects of this question: A) the Arab, or *the impossibility of such an invasion*, and B) the Byzantine, or *the impossibility of an attack against Sicily by Olympius*.

A) I examine the strange episode in great detail in Note XII. I shall limit myself here to stating that the incident is referred to in a single passage of the Liber Pontificalis. This book strives to give a most favorable image of those persons who occupied the papal throne. Often the

391. Hartmann, Geschichte usw., II, 244. He maintains that the peace was made in 652. But I do not believe this to be accurate since Olympius could not have moved south before making peace with the Lombards, and because Rotharis died in 652 to be succeeded by his son who also died in the same year. Rotharis actually made the peace agreement.

392. Diehl, Le Monde Oriental, p. 238, and Exarchat de Ravenne, etc., p. 342; Amari, Storia di Musulmani di Sicilia, I, 82-89; Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 401; Bréhier. Le Démembrement, etc., p. 169; Hartmann, Geschichte usw., p. 228; Hodgkin, op. cit., VI, 258; Bury, History, etc., II, 294; Duchêsne, op. cit., p. 446; Gregorovius, op. cit., p. 144; Kaestner, op. cit., pp. 59, 60; Eickoff, Seekrieg usw., pp. 15, 16; Héfélé-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 454; Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes, I, 62. Ostrogorsky, p. 107, who is more reserved, writes simply that Olympius went to Sicily.

text was written by historians who were not contemporary with the events and who attempted to paint these events in the most favorable colours. In the Vita of Martin, the L.P. records, "... collecting an army he marched to Sicily against the race of the Saracens *who dwelt therein*. And as a result of a mistake, there occurred a major disaster to the Roman army, following which, the Exarch himself fell ill and died".³⁹³ This excerpt has not been examined with due attention by some scholars, giving rise to much confusion which was aggravated further by Amari and Vasiliev since the latter attempted, by using supplemental sources, to show that in fact there was an Arab invasion of Sicily in 651-653. But the primary source, the Liber Pontificalis, does not mention an invasion of the Arabs. It speaks of a war against the Saracens *who dwelt therein*. In view of the fact that no Saracens inhabited Sicily in the period, this section of the Vita was written or was revised in a much later period when Arabs had in fact established themselves in Sicily.

In addition to a misinterpretation of the text, there is yet another factor precluding an Arab attack against Sicily, and this was the *truce* between Arab and Byzantine that existed from early 651 to early 653 (see Chapt. II, para. 5). And understandably, Muawiyah who preferred running the risk of losing Armenia to breaking his word, would not have permitted a purposeless razzia against the island that would have constituted a flagrant violation of the terms of the truce.

B) But even assuming for a moment that the Arab did undertake a minor and far-flung razzia, who then summoned Olympius to Sicily? The provincial government? If the answer is in the affirmative, then it would have been impossible for Olympius to reach Sicily in time to drive out the enemy. Since the razzia was a small affair, the Arabs would have had at their disposal a very limited amount of time. If, therefore, the local administration that had at its disposal one of the two Byzantine flotillas of the Western Mediterranean felt that it could not repel the invaders alone, then notified Olympius of the threat, by the time the latter could assemble his army and reach Sicily, the invaders would have without a doubt withdrawn.

Yet there is a further aspect to the problem. Could the administration of Sicily possibly call upon Olympius for assistance? As I have

393. L.P., p. 338; Anastasii, Historia de Vites, etc., Vita of Martin.

already pointed out, Sicily did not fall within the administrative jurisdiction of the Exarchate. Initially it was governed by a Praetor, then later by a strategos carrying the title of patricius, that is, a rank about the same as that of the Exarch.³⁹⁴ Olympius had rebelled against Byzantium and under the circumstances how could his colleague in Sicily possibly appeal for aid from an insurgent? It is significant that the name of the strategos of Sicily is known, one Dorotheus, who was present as a witness in the trial of Martin. Had he sought the help of an insurrectionist, would he have still been governor of Sicily as much as two years later?

What, under the circumstances, did actually take place? There is no question that towards the end of 651 and the middle of 652, Olympius did in fact move against Sicily, but never reached the island. He advanced through southern Italy which had then been struck by a terrible plague and which Paul the Deacon reports as having spread as far as the very gates of Rome.³⁹⁵ I say the middle of 652, for another source of the West³⁹⁶ records that the pestilence attained its maximum destructive force in the summer months of the 11th year of Constantine's reign, that is to say, the end of September 651 to the end of September 652. His army was decimated by the frightening pestilence. This explains the phrase in the L.P., "as a result of a mistake", since it was a fatal error to send an army through a plague-ridden countryside.

Yet the basic question remains. What indeed did Olympius intend to do in Sicily? Certainly not to reach an agreement with the non-existent Arabs there, as Brehier maintains. The answer to the question lies elsewhere. One could argue that in order to integrate his ultimate plan of independence, Olympius would need possession of Sicily which would protect his flanks and at the same time provide him with a fleet that belonged to the Sicilian command. This I believe is the full explanation for his action. But I may well ask, could Martin have persuaded him to advance against Sicily? After all, the church of Rome had extensive lands and properties in Sicily.³⁹⁷ The property of Pope Gregory I was of

394. Diehl, *Exarchat de Ravenne*, pp. 78 & 169, 170; Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, VI, 529.

395. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, V, 31.

396. Andrea Dandolo, *Chronicon*, p. 118.

397. Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, p. 517; Lynn, *The Byzantinization of Sicily*.

such extent as to enable him comfortably to build and to maintain six large monasteries in the island.³⁹⁸ Quite naturally, following the irregular enthronement of Martin and the insurrection of Olympius, the governor of Sicily had severed all ties with Rome and had cut off the funds deriving from these papal estates or had actually impounded the revenues of the church of Rome.

Olympius too died of the pestilence, having first witnessed the gradual decimation of his army. At all events, the entire episode had greatly disturbed the imperial court. The insurrection of Olympius was not contemporary with the rebellion of Gregory which Vasiliev maintains,³⁹⁹ but as it broke out a few years after the Gregory affair, the court realized that firmer measures would have to be taken to put a stop to such outbreaks. The Byzantines did not take immediate action or counter-measures because of their preoccupation with Armenia where the situation had become most critical (see Chapt. II, para. 1), but their anxiety emerges from the exaggerated writings of Martin according to which the Byzantines had considered that the entire West was lost to them, and they believed that Olympius was conducting negotiations with the Arabs to march arm in arm against Constantinople itself!⁴⁰⁰

4

Constantine was too engrossed in the Armenian problem and with the military and palatial conspiracy to intervene immediately in the Italian peninsula. Moreover, as long as Olympius was alive and the army in Italy was ostensibly loyal to the insurgent, the only counteraction that could be taken would be the dispatch of an imperial army to the West, creating thus a new front precisely at the moment events in the East were not pleasant for Byzantium despite the temporary truce with the Arabs.

At a date that cannot be defined, there appeared in Italy as Exarch Theodore, the surnamed Calliopas.⁴⁰¹ The date of his appointment and

398. Gregoire de Tours, in M.G.H., *Scriptores rerum Merovingianorum*, I, 407.

399. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

400. Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 112-114 & 200.

401. L.P., p. 339; Bedae, *Chronica*.

his arrival in Italy are completely unknown. It is generally believed, however, that this occurred after the death of Olympius.

Theodore had served previously as Exarch of Italy (see Chapt. IV). His mission was fraught with difficulties, and I doubt whether he was accompanied by a Byzantine army. It is probable that some reinforcements only were sent to the Exarchate.

Nevertheless, Theodore was expected to become master of the Italian situation and to regain control of the local army. Consequently, and in all likelihood, he had arrived in Ravenna considerably earlier than the time when he began to put into effect his plans for the recovery of the province. At the same time, there appeared on the scene in Italy the cubicularius Theodore, the surnamed Pellurius. To judge by his title, he was obviously an important official who held an exalted position at the imperial court.

According to the view generally held today, which I believe to be the most possibly correct, the Exarch accompanied by the cubicularius and a considerable army arrived in Rome on June 15, 653.⁴⁰² The directives Theodore had received were apparently most inflexible.⁴⁰³

We know of all the subsequent events exclusively, I again point out, from Western sources and these of ecclesiastical origin, the greatest part of which is drawn from the correspondence of Martin himself to certain friends or from memoranda that were written by individuals that accompanied Martin, or by friends of Martin who were in Constantinople. Not a single Byzantine source exists. Later Byzantine chroniclers, who were hostilely disposed to Constantine III, nearly all record word for word the same narrative slant.⁴⁰⁴

According to one tradition, Martin sent clergymen to the Palatine, where the Exarch had been installed, to convey his personal greetings.

402. Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Brooks, in *C.M.H.*, II, 401; Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 170; Lebeau-St. Martin, XI, 357; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, II, 229; Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Héfélé-Leclercq, p. 454. The Greek *Vita* of Martin records the 10th Indiction (A.D. 652) which justifiably was corrected to the 11th (653) by the editor of the *Vita*, P. Peeters (*Une Vie Grecque*, etc.).

403. *L.P.*, p. 339.

404. George the Monk, "led shamefully to Constantinople"; Glycas, p. 520, "led disgracefully, etc."; Joel, p. 47, "led shamefully, etc."; Michael the Syrian, II, 444, in fact records that Constantine personally went to Rome, arrested Martin, and brought him to Constantinople.

Martin, as he himself or various other sources record, which sources in turn use Martin's correspondence, had it appears fallen ill, with an acute attack of gout. He well understood what was about to happen, and for this reason was carried by carriage to the Church of the Saviour, the Constantiniana, wherein he installed himself. This is the version given primarily by Anastasius the Librarian and other Latin sources.

But the Greek Vita of Martin gives a different picture of the events, according to which Martin and the clergy of Rome received Calliopas and Theodore. He then proceeded to anathematize all persons who would maintain that he, Martin, had altered anything in the "credo of faith". Calliopas thereupon replied that all had the same faith. Following this dialogue, Martin withdrew to the Church of the Saviour wherein he remained in confinement until Monday. This version is supported by Peeters as the most in agreement with the sequence of events.⁴⁰⁵

On Monday morning the Exarch sent his chartularius to Martin to protest that according to intelligence he had received, weapons had been secretly stored at the Lateran. A careful search of the premises was made, but as Martin says, not a single weapon of war was found. That same evening, the Exarch with the cubicularius Theodore and a strong military detachment arrived on the scene. To the bishops who had assembled before the church he made known the directives he had received from the imperial authorities. Martin was not deemed Pope since he had occupied the papal seat without due authorization,⁴⁰⁶ and therefore illegally held the chair.⁴⁰⁷ Other charges against Martin were read. A further imperial instruction was that the clergy of Rome must elect another person as Pope. Martin would be arrested and tried for base treason. According to the narrative of Martin, he gave himself up immediately to avoid bloodshed. Yet it appears that the Exarch had taken all precautions, and moreover, that the Romans themselves were

405. Peeters, *Une Vie Grecque*, etc.

406. Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

407. It has been wrongly maintained (Duchêsne, *L'Eglise*, etc., p. 448; Kaestner, *op. cit.*, p. 61, etc) that an imperial edict of the deposition of Martin was read. There is no doubt that, in accordance with the existing practice, the Emperor had the right to depose anyone he saw fit. But there was no reason for deposing a religious leader who was not recognized lawfully as the occupant of the papal throne.

not prepared to resist on Martin's behalf. He was led⁴⁰⁸ directly to the Palatine and on the night of Tuesday or early Wednesday morning by the river Tiber to the coast whence a boat carried him to Messina where he waited for the ship that was to take him to Constantinople.

The journey according to Martin lasted one year and three months,⁴⁰⁹ but other sources say only three months.⁴¹⁰ Yet there must be a limit to such a wide range of time, for according to the narratives of witnesses who were present, of Martin, of the Greek Vita of Martin, and of Theodore Spoudis, a monk who accompanied Martin to Constantinople, the trial of Martin took place before the death of the Patriarch Paul, who on his deathbed intervened with the Emperor to alter the penalty of death to one of banishment.⁴¹¹ But Paul had died in December of 653,⁴¹² hence Martin's trial occurred before the 27th of December 653.

If in fact he was arrested in 653, then he must have arrived in Constantinople in September 653 and the journey was of three months' duration. The question may well arise as to why Martin wrote one year and three months.

408. L.P., p. 339; Bedae, *Chronica*; *Acta Episc. Neapolitanorum*, p. 416; Romualdi, etc. The relevant passages in the latter two chronicles are taken from Bedae.

409. Martin's letter to Theodore Spoudis. See Jaffé-Wattenbach, Nos. 2078 & 2079; Mansi, op. cit., X, 949, 950; Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 199-202; Bréhier, op. cit., p. 171; Hartmann, op. cit., p. 229; Héfélé-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 456; Hergenröther, op. cit., p. 326; Bury, op. cit., p. 295; Duchêsne, op. cit., p. 447; Diehl, *Exarchat de Ravenne*, etc., p. 261.

410. Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 401; Devréesse, *La vie de St. Maxime*, etc.; Peeters, *Une Vie Grecque*, etc.; Jaffé's comments on letter No. 2079. In his edition of the Greek Life of Martin, Peeters writes that it was probably a bad translation of the Greek word "chronotrivisantos" (passing some time), that was put into the Latin as meaning "one year".

411. *Alia Notitia Historica*, in Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 116, 117; Peeters, *Une Vie Grecque*, etc.; Héfélé-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 459; Duchêsne, op. cit., p. 450.

412. Theophanes, p. 345. who in fact dates events in this period a year earlier, records that he died before A.M. 6145 (i. e. 653). See Brooks, *On the Lists*, etc., and the correction he hastily made in his study "The London Catalogue, etc.", a year later. See also Grumel, *La Chronologie*, p. 435, and his *Les Actes des Patriarches*, etc., p. 120.

Although one could believe that Martin wished to lengthen the time of his suffering and tribulations, could one believe that he deliberately or unconsciously lengthened the duration of his suffering a full additional year?

But there is another possible explanation. He may have been arrested in 652, which would then tally with a journey of one year and three months. This date is hinted at in a Greek Life of Martin.⁴¹³ In this case, therefore, Olympius would have begun his march against Sicily at the close of 651 at about which time he would have died. Calliopas would then have been appointed the new Exarch in early 652 and the arrest of Martin taken place on Monday the 18th of June 652. His passage to Constantinople would have been delayed due to the absence of the Emperor in Armenia and the latter's wish to be present in the capital during the trial of Martin. Only such a chronology would reasonably explain the narrative of Martin. Unless, of course, we were to accept a subsequent corruption of the text which has come down to us, in which case he would have tarried in Naxos for one month instead of one year. With the state of the extant sources, however, we can only conclude that he was actually arrested in 653 and that the "year" that is inserted in the text is a later addition or a corruption.

Hence, on the basis of the information we now have, the ship carrying Martin to Constantinople arrived in the capital on September 17, 653. He remained on board until the evening when the scrivon or secretary by name Sangolevas came on board with an escort of excubitors who took him to the prison of Prandiara.⁴¹⁴

Martin was held in the prison for 93 days following which on the 19th or 20th of December 653, he was brought for trial before the

413. Peeters, *Une Vie Grecque*, etc. This Life records June of the 10th Indiction (A.D. 652). But it says the 17th of June of the 10th Indiction "in the early morning of Wednesday they removed the saint". Yet June 17 of 652 fell on a Sunday. Nor did June 17 fall on a Wednesday in 653 (11th Indiction) or 654 (12th Indiction). Hence the two dates provided by this Life do not agree. This is why Peeters insisted that the correct date was 653 and that the Indiction, and therefore the year was wrong.

414. Prandiara or Prandiaria was a prison near the Great Palace and the Hippodrome in the section where the excubitors had their barracks. The excubitors were part of the imperial guard. See Janin, *Constantinople*, etc., p. 167.

Senate⁴¹⁵ which was presided over by a sacellarius⁴¹⁶ named Bucoleon.⁴¹⁷ The trial was strictly of a political nature.⁴¹⁸ Martin was charged with treason, and more specifically that he had occupied the papal throne irregularly, that he had aided and abetted Olympius in his insurrection against the Emperor, and that he had been negotiating with the Saracens. Dorotheus, the patricius of Sicily, accused him of cooperating with Olympius in every manner in his attempt to incite the entire Western part of the Empire to revolt, and that he was an avowed enemy of the Emperor. Another witness accused him of being in collusion with Olympius and inciting the troops to perjure their oaths. Martin then began his defence by speaking of the Type and its introduction to Rome, but was immediately interrupted by the patrician Troilus who reminded him that he was not being tried for "religious reasons" but for treason.⁴¹⁹ It appears that Martin attempted to bring the argument round to religious themes, but this was not allowed by the judges. Finally, he denied all the charges against himself, and maintained that the money he had sent was intended only for helping the prisoners, and so on. In a subsequent letter, Martin wrote that the witnesses for the prosecution were all "sons of falsehood" and "deliberate and planted

415. *Commemoratio eorum*, in Mansi, X, 853 f.; Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 401, says December 20, 653; Devréesse, *La vie de St. Maxime*, etc.; Stephanides, *op. cit.*, p. 246; Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, p. 262; Peeters, *Une Vie Grecque*, etc.; Duchêsne, *op. cit.*, p. 448 and Lebeau-St. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 360, maintain that the trial began on December 19. Bréhier, in *Le Démembrement*, etc., p. 171, mistakenly writes that Martin was brought before the court of the Sakellion who was a representative of the Patriarch because Martin was a hierarch, hence his case came within the jurisdiction of Church Law. But this is completely wrong, for the case was not an ecclesiastical one but purely civil.

416. The Sakellarius was the administrator of the wealth of the Emperor (sakellion). Already by the 7th Century this position was one of the highest offices in the civil service. The holder of the office was usually a senior palace official who on occasion assumed command of the imperial army, as for example, in Syria in 636.

417. *Hypomnesticon*, in Migne, P.G., Vol. 87, p. 197; Duchêsne, *op. cit.*, p. 448; Lebeau-St. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 360; Devréesse, *op. cit.*

418. Fliche, *La Chrétienté Médiévale*, p. 108; Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 171; Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, p. 262; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Gennadius, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

419. Peeters, *Une Vie Grecque*, etc., Chapt. 7, "The patricius Troilus shouted out: Do not lead us into such arguments on faith; I ask you now about mutiny ...".

voices".⁴²⁰ Here again I emphasize that our sources concerning the trial derive from the correspondence of Martin and memoranda drawn up by his friends. Hence, it has been very correctly pointed out⁴²¹ that since other sources are lacking, one should read with much reservation the evidence provided by the followers of Martin.

It appears that Martin was condemned to death. It is in fact reputed that the absolute penalty was imposed following an understanding between the Sacellarius and the Emperor who, as Martin himself records, followed the proceedings of the tribunal.⁴²²

Martin was stripped of his sacerdotal vestments and all his hieratic titles. Then, again according to Martin's narrative and that of his followers, a chain was thrown round his neck and he was dragged to the prison of the *Practorium* where he was incarcerated with common murderers. There he received a message from the Eparch Gregory informing him that he would be spared execution. The Eparch at the same time sent him food. An hour or so later he was led to the prison of *Diomedes*.⁴²³ It is reputed that on the following day the dying Patriarch Paul had requested from the Emperor a redemption of the absolute penalty.⁴²⁴

Upon the death of Paul, the problem arose of a successor. In the meantime, *Pyrrhus* who had neither surrendered the patriarchal throne nor had been deposed,⁴²⁵ was considered by most as the lawful Patri-

420. *Mansi*, X, 855. It is indeed strange that whereas Martin himself wrote that he was in strict confinement and under close guard, he nevertheless was not hindered in sending many letters to his friends. See *Peeters*, *Une Vie Grecque*, etc.

421. *Kaestner*, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

422. *Brooks*, *op. cit.*

423. The Monastery of *St. Diomedes* in the enclosure of which were the prisons, was situated west of the city near the Golden Gate. *Janin*, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 169.

424. *Commemoratio*, in *Migne*, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 116, 117; *Héfélé-Leclercq*, *op. cit.*, p. 459; *Peeters*, *Une Vie Grecque*, etc.; *Bury*, *op. cit.*, p. 296; *Hergenröther*, *op. cit.*, p. 327; *Finlay*, *A History*, etc., I, 376. But there exists some conflict concerning the incident. If the penalty of death was waived on the following day due to the intervention of the Patriarch Paul from his deathbed, how then did the Eparch know of this many hours before when he informed Martin. Another contradiction is that Martin was incarcerated in a cell with common murderers, whereas the Eparch was aware that the penalty of death would not be executed. But the entire narrative and the letters of Martin are full of contradictions.

425. His deposition by Pope Theodore (see Chapt. IV, para 4 & 5) was not taken seriously since it was illegal and totally irregular.

arch. Constantine sought more information on his attitude and position whilst he had been in Rome, and sent Demosthenes, an assistant to the Sacellarius, to Martin to make inquiries. Martin replied that in Rome Pyrrhus was accepted as the lawful Patriarch and that whatever he had done was on his own free volition, and moreover, he could confirm the facts by consulting Plato, the former Exarch of Italy, who was then residing in the capital.⁴²⁶

Martin remained in prison for some 85 days, and on Thursday of Easter week, April 10, 654, left for Cherson in the Crimean peninsula which was his place of banishment,⁴²⁷ arriving there on May 15th.⁴²⁸ From Cherson he wrote letters to friends in Constantinople in which he complained of deprivations and especially attacked the church of Rome which, he maintained, had completely forsaken him.⁴²⁹

Martin died in Cherson and was interred in the Church of the Mother of God of Blacherna, immediately outside the walls of the city, the date of his death being recorded as the 16th of September, in the 14th Indiction (A.D. 655).⁴³⁰ But the Greek Life of Martin writes (Chapt. 12), "he died in the month of April on the 13th day, in the 14th Indiction". that is, April 13, 656.⁴³¹ The oddest fact of the entire episode is that Theophanes and the chroniclers who use him record the

426. In Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 117 f; Peeters, op. cit., Chapt. 10. "... and so the Emperor sent the scrivon Demosthenes to the prison ...":

427. Theophanes, p. 347; Zonaras, III, 313, 314; Leo the Grammarian, p. 158; L.P., p. 338; Commemoratio, in Migne, Vol. 87.

428. Jaffé-Wattenbach, No. 2080; Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, p. 201.

429. Jaffé-Wattenbach, Nos. 2080. 2081.

430. Hypomnesticon, in Migne, P.G., Vol. 90, p. 108; Devréesse, *Le Texte grec de l'Hypomnesticon*, etc., para. 4, of the Greek text; Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*, p. 77. The L.P. records that Martin was buried on September 17. The Indiction, a cycle of 15 years, begins on the 1st of September and ends on August 31. Hence, September 16, the 14th Indiction would be the 16th of September 655.

431. Peeters, op. cit.; Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 107. This date is contained in a manuscript of Patmos. In the Greek Lives of the Saints, the date of Martin's death is variously recorded as September 16, 655 and April 13, 656. In a Life of Saints of the Patmos Monastery, the latter date is mentioned.

date of the banishment of Martin as June 659.⁴³²

Martin had written various letters describing the events during his stay in Naxos, in the prisons of Constantinople and in Cherson, his place of exile. It is very strange to reflect that all this correspondence was delivered to his friends and supporters, a fact which would indicate that his imprisonment was not unduly harsh, as he himself claimed, nor his isolation absolute.

This correspondence forms the basis for the various memoranda that were drafted, and which conflict in part. It appears that the entire narrative underwent considerable modification and corruption when the life of Martin was composed by Anastasius the Librarian centuries later.

Fearing lest another pope be elected in his stead, Martin wrote that in the period that he was away from Rome, no one had the right to elect a new pope, and that the archdeacon, the senior presbyter and the chief notary could administer the church as his representatives during his absence.⁴³³ But Martin's fear soon became a reality. A new pope was elected in early 654, about which more in another paragraph.

5

According to Byzantine sources, Constantine punished many bishops of the West⁴³⁴ and "he maltreated many orthodox by exile and confiscation because they would not submit to his heresy ..."⁴³⁵ The

432. Theophanes, p. 347; who writes A.M. 6150 (A.D. 658-659), the 17th year of Constans (657-658), the 3rd of Muawiyah (659), the 6th of the Patriarch Peter (659-660), the 2nd Indiction (Sept. 1, 658 - August 31, 659). Theophanes does not regard Ali as Caliph, hence immediately after the death of Uthman, he cites Muawiyah as the new Caliph.

433. Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 199-202; Duchêsne, op. cit., p. 452; Aigrain, *Les Papes et l'Italie*, p. 403.

434. Theophanes, p. 322. It is very odd that regarding this incident, the Byzantine sources make no reference to any bishop of the West by name who was persecuted at the orders of the Byzantine court. Stranger still is the fact that the L.P. makes no mention of this, and I was unable to find any reference to the incident in Western sources.

435. Theophanes, p. 351; Zonaras, III, 314; George the Monk, p. 717; Joel, p. 47; Kaestner, p. 73. The latter follows Theophanes to the letter.

Liber Pontificalis uses nearly the same phrasing. But these are precisely the words contained in the speech of Martin given at the first session of the Lateran Council.⁴³⁶ This probably refers to Anastasius, the legate of Pope Theodore and his secretaries.⁴³⁷ Hence, besides those referred to above, the only others we know who were prosecuted were Martin, Maximus and a disciple of the latter. No other information exists involving other individuals. And if in fact other persons were punished, although no mention of this is made in the sources, it was probably for violations of the provisions of the Type. One should not forget that the Type was an imperial edict and as such all transgressors would be punished.

Maximus was considered the prime instigator of the rebellion of Rome against the imperial authority. His prestige and influence in Africa and Italy were incredibly enormous. Understandably therefore he would be a major target of the Empire. Although there were many charges outstanding against him, it appears that initially he was not treated harshly. Attempts had been made to persuade him to help Constantine in his endeavor to terminate the religious anarchy. Unfortunately, no common ground for compromise could be found between the Emperor Constantine and the monk Maximus. Two worlds confronted each other to the bitter end.⁴³⁸

Constantine was a youthful monarch, dynamic and autocratic, and believed always in the absolute and sovereign powers of a Roman emperor.

Maximus belonged to an influential, aristocratic and wealthy family. It was reputed then that he belonged to the "ruling class". He had studied grammar, rhetoric and philosophy⁴³⁹ at the University of Constantinople.⁴⁴⁰ When still a comparatively young man, perhaps 35 to 36 years of age, he abandoned the position he held at the court (he was

436. L.P., p. 336. See also fn. 2 of Duchêsne, on p. 339 of the L.P.; Mansi, X, 863 f.

437. See Chapt. IV, para. 4.

438. Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 108.

439. Life and Martyrdom of Maximus, in Migne, P.G., Vol. 90, pp. 69 f.

440. Schemmel, Die Hochschule usw.

first secretary to the Emperor Heraclius) to enter the Monastery of Chrysopolis. In 626 he fled from the monastery to escape the advancing Persians. Ever since, he became an arch foe of any dogma which he believed did not agree with his own tenets. With time, this passion for whatever in his eyes was the just became a resolute obstinacy. His arrogance, no doubt deriving from his aristocratic background, combined with a monastic and senile stubbornness, precluded any possibility of a compromise, let alone any reconciliation with the other camp.

But here again, all the information that has survived concerning Maximus and his fortunes, derives either from his own correspondence or from letters of his disciples. No text supporting the opposite point of view has come down.

The date of his arrest is unknown. It has been maintained by some scholars that he was apprehended before Martin,⁴⁴¹ yet others that he was arrested at about the same time as Martin and was taken to Constantinople in 653.⁴⁴²

It is my impression that no arrest took place in Rome before Martin was seized.⁴⁴³ It is very probable the imperial administration believed that with the restoration of law and order in Italy, all hostile activity against Byzantium would cease. At all events, in his correspondence Martin makes no reference to Maximus, so in all likelihood he was seized and sent to Constantinople after the departure of Martin for his place of banishment. Oddly enough, neither does the *Commemoratio* make any reference to the arrest and transport of Maximus to the capital. Maximus probably opposed the election of Pope Eugene. From his letters and those of his disciples, it appears that he was brought to Constantinople in 655, and therefore was arrested together with his disciple at the close of 654⁴⁴⁴ and arrived in the imperial capital in early

441. Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 461. It is indeed strange that the Greek texts cite the most improbable year of 650. See Devréesse, *La Vie de St. Maxime*, etc.

442. *Life and Martyrdom*, etc., in Migne, Vol. 90, p. 85; Gennadius, *op. cit.*, p. 242; Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 173; Brooks, *op. cit.*, II, 402; Grumel, *Notes d'histoire ... sur la vie de St. Maxime*, etc.

443. Mansi, X, pp. 853 f.; Migne, P.L. Vol. 87, pp. 111 f.

444. Peitz, *Martin I usw.*, p. 227.

655. It is falsely maintained that he spent years in a gloomy dungeon of the capital.⁴⁴⁵

Maximus was first interrogated before the Senate by the Sacellarius Bucoleon, the same person who had presided at the trial of Martin. The fundamental charges were high treachery, inciting Gregory, the Exarch of Africa, to rebellion against Byzantium, goading Martin to hostility against the Emperor, and lastly, Origenism. In the meantime, various patricians attempted to make Maximus more tractable, begging him to feel remorse for the Emperor, since he had issued the Type only to bring peace within the Empire. Finally, the Patriarch Peter informed Maximus on the 18th of May 655 that legates had arrived from Pope Eugene and that a compromise solution was imminent between the two churches. He also threatened Maximus that if he did not conform he would have to suffer the consequences of the law.⁴⁴⁶ Maximus however adamantly refused to compromise. The trial was conducted on the primary grounds of sedition.⁴⁴⁷ Yet, Maximus with his eloquent rhetoric succeeded in snaring the accusers into religious argument. Following his perseverance and upon the recommendation of the Patriarch Peter, he was banished to Bizye (now Viza) on the Black Sea coast of Thrace.

Yet the Byzantine court and the Patriarch never ceased hoping that some formula of compromise could be reached with Maximus. On the

445. In his study *Le Démembrement*, etc., p. 173, Bréhier writes that Maximus was in prison for many months, and Gennadius, *History of the Patriarch*, p. 242, says about 1 1/2 years. Montmasson, *Chronologie de la vie*, etc., records about the same. On the other hand, the "description of the movements, etc.", in Migne, P.G., Vol. 90, p. 109, states "after a few days" of his arrival in Constantinople. Moreover, in the *Life of Maximus*, Migne, *ibid*, p. 88, writes that "led him to imprisonment in a gloomy cell ... And after a few days, they led the just man to the palace ...". The phrase "after a few days" cannot possibly be interpreted as a year or even many months.

446. Maximus to the monk Anastasius, in Migne, P.G., Vol. 90, pp. 132 f. Description of the movement, etc., *ibid*., pp. 121 f. The "Pentecost" of the Greek text was altered by Anastasius the Librarian to the "mid-Pentecost". Yet the Greek text reads "the eighteenth of the month which was the holy Pentecost". Easter in 655 fell on March 29. Hence the Pentecost was on the 18th of May. It should be pointed out that no other year can be considered since Eugene was appointed Pope in August 654 and it is to be expected that his legates would be in Constantinople in the first half of 655.

447. Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate*, p. 76.

instructions of the Patriarch Peter, on August 24, 656 Theodosius, Bishop of Bithynian Caesarea, visited Bizye. Accompanying him were the consuls Paul and Theodosius who came at the behest of the Emperor. The content of these prolonged discussions we know only from the narrative of Maximus. After lengthy talks with Maximus, Theodosius informed him that the Emperor was willing to shelve the Type, whereupon Maximus demanded recognition of the decisions of the Lateran Council. To the observations of Theodosius that the Council had been summoned irregularly, Maximus avoided giving reply, and insisted that faith was above all commands.⁴⁴⁸ Understandably, therefore, such a demand was unacceptable. The discussions were prolonged further, yet despite the tractability of Bishop Theodosius, no concrete results came of the meetings. Finally, Maximus insisted that the Patriarch must reach an understanding with the pope.

On the 8th September 656, the consul Paul again visited Bizye with an order from the Emperor that Maximus be removed to the Monastery of St. Theodore near Rhegion.⁴⁴⁹ Bishop Theodosius again visited the recalcitrant Maximus in the company of the patricians Troilus and Epiphanius. According always to Maximus, the patricians had carried with them proposals of the Emperor which once more he refused to consider. Following this final failure, Maximus was sent on the 14th of September 656 to Selymbria where he remained for two days, then to Per^hveris where he lived in exile for more than five years.

We are not sure why he was brought to trial again in 661 or 662. Neither the *Vita* nor the other correspondence of Maximus or that of his disciples provides an answer as to why Constantine suddenly changed his mild attitude and took harsh measures against Maximus, against his disciple, and against Anastasius the legate, and indeed after such a great interval of time. The argument that some scholars support, that these measures were taken because Maximus had refused to yield, cannot stand the test of reasonable examination. This may have been possible at the very beginning when the clash between Byzantium and Rome had reached its apex. But by 661, the breach had been somewhat healed,

448. Maximus, *On the actions, etc.*, in Migne, Vol. 90, pp. 136 f., especially see p. 145; Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

449. Rhegion (royal). Town of Thrace on the Propontis at a distance of some 15 miles west of Constantinople.

and the two sees, although not in agreement dogmatically, co-existed peacefully, about which more in the next paragraph. Constantine intended to depart for Italy in 661, and had more serious problems of state to deal with. During the entire period that Peter occupied the patriarchal throne, he showed no instances of severity to the recalcitrant. We must therefore surmise that something serious had occurred which forced the Patriarch and the Emperor to take sterner measures against the difficult Maximus. It is more than likely that Maximus continued to write belligerently and to incite all against Byzantium. Such information, moreover, is provided by Theophanes.⁴⁵⁰ Yet if this were the only reason for the renewed persecution, then the entire matter may well have been resolved by a simple banishment to a distant and isolated province of the Empire. For Constantine to fall into a rage and to take very harsh measures, something more serious should have occurred. Unfortunately, the sources throw no light on the matter. I am quite convinced that the entire Maximus affair is directly related to the incident involving Theodosius, brother of the Emperor, and his execution. But more about this in another chapter. [I feel that the instigator of the Theodosius plot was none other than Maximus,⁴⁵¹ for which the sudden and unexpected brutality displayed by Constantine was fully justified.

The precise dates of the re-arrest of Maximus and his return to Constantinople are unknown, but the most reasonable would be 661 or early 662 at the outermost. We know when he reached his new place of banishment, but are ignorant of when the new trial took place. At all events, Maximus and his disciple Anastasius, as well as Anastasius the former legate of Pope Theodore, were tried by a mixed court in Constantinople, were condemned and excommunicated, and given over to the civil authorities to receive severe penalties.⁴⁵¹ I believe the death penalty was not imposed upon Maximus because of his advanced age and his status as a monk.

450. Theophanes, p. 347, "having written many letters against his impiety, together with his disciples ...".

451. Migne, P.G., Vol. 87, pp. 169 f.; Grumel, *Les Actes des Patriarches*, etc., No. 306; Devréesse, *La Vie de St. Maxime*, etc.; Grumel, *Notes d'histoire et de Chronologie*, etc.; Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 469; Brooks, in *C.M.H.*, II, 403.

The Eparch of Constantinople in applying, I assume, the provisions of the Type for such cases, submitted the three condemned to scourging, then sent them into distant exile, but not before the tongue of Maximus was cut off and the right hand of the three was amputated.⁴⁵² Such brutal treatment convinces me more than ever that they were involved in a plot that brought upon them the wrath of Constantine.

Maximus was sent to Lazica⁴⁵³ and was confined to the fortress of "Schemarium" (Schiomaron) in the Caucasus⁴⁵⁴ on June 8, 662.⁴⁵⁵ The legate Anastasius was imprisoned in the fortress known as Buculus.⁴⁵⁶ Maximus died on August 13, 662 at an advanced age of 82 or over. Certainly in this instance, as in so many other similar cases, the Byzantine chroniclers mention a miracle taking place, for it was reputed that the tongue of Maximus was restored.⁴⁵⁷

Maximus is throughout referred to as an abbot. But I do not believe this to be correct. In the order involving his transfer to the monastery near Rhegion, he is mentioned only as a simple monk.⁴⁵⁸

6

After the arrest of Martin and his transfer to Constantinople, the situation in Rome was most unsettled. In the eyes of the Byzantines,

452. Theophanes, p. 347; Cedrenus, p. 761; George the Monk, p. 718; Zonaras, III, 313; Joel, p. 47; Synopsis Sathas, p. 111; Leo the Grammarian, p. 157; Michael the Syrian, II, 443.

453. Lazica is the western part of Georgia. One portion is now part of Russia and the other is in Turkey. It can be identified with ancient Colchis. At the time, the Lazi were Christians and within the Byzantine sphere of influence. See Vol. I, p. 198.

454. A Brief History, in Devréesse, *Le Texte de l'Hypomnesticon*, para. 5; Migne, P.G., Vol. 90, p. 198.

455. Brooks, *op. cit.*; Grumel, *op. cit.*; Devréesse, *op. cit.*; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

456. Also known as Bucylus. It is a translation or corruption of the indigenous Boukele, the Buchlon of Agathias. See Peeters, *La Version arménienne de l'historien Socrate*.

457. Vita in Migne, P.G., Vol. 90, pp. 209-212. Duchèsne in *L'Eglise au VI siècle* in fn. 1, p. 457, doubts the amputation.

458. Migne, P.G., Vol. 90, p. 160; Grumel, *Notes d'histoire*, etc.

the papal throne had remained vacant since Martin's irregular enthronement as Pope was not recognized. The attitude of the Westerners to this irregularity is of considerable interest. The Exarch was most anxious that a new pope be elected. Whether because his pressures were stifling, or whether the clergy and leading citizens of Rome had recognized that Martin had not been properly anointed, or perhaps because they feared that Byzantium would impose upon them a pope of her own choosing,⁴⁵⁹ they decided finally to elect a new pope. It is contended by some that the election was decided upon when news reached Rome of Martin's condemnation to death.⁴⁶⁰ It has also been argued that Martin was deposed by the clergy of Rome.⁴⁶¹ The date of the election is not known. In view of the fact that the approval of the Emperor was required before the enthronement of the candidate, I presume that Eugene was elected in the first half of 654 and assumed the papal throne on the 10th of August 654.

Eugene sent legates to Constantinople with a letter addressed to the Emperor announcing his enthronement. The legates arrived in the capital towards the end of April or early May 655. The Patriarch Peter began negotiations with them to find some kind of workable formula, and it is maintained that the legates were deluded into agreeing by the Byzantines. At all events, the Emperor's reply was sent together with a synodical letter of the Patriarch Peter. It is very probable that Eugene himself wished to end the discord between Constantinople and Rome, but the Roman clergy was uncompromising. According to the *Liber Pontificalis* the synodical epistle⁴⁶² was vague and obscure because it was unclear on the vital matters of the energies and the wills of Christ. The clergy and populace of Rome had assembled in the Church of the Mother of God and prevented the Pope from conducting the mass until

459. Aigrain, *Les Papes*, etc., p. 403.

460. Duchêsne, *L'Eglise*, etc., p. 452; Peeters, *Une Vie Grecque*, etc.

461. Hodgkin, *Italy*, etc., VI, 268. There was no case for the deposition of Martin, for, not having received the sanction of the Emperor, his occupation of the throne was considered irregular.

462. L.P., p. 341; Grumel, *Les Actes*, etc., No. 302. The text has not survived. The sole reference is found in the L.P.

he would promise that he did not accept the synodical letter of the Patriarch.⁴⁶³

It is reputed that when news of the incident reached Constantinople, it provoked much resentment and anger.⁴⁶⁴ But no action was taken against Eugene who died on the 2nd of June 657.

A new pope was quickly elected and an immediate approval of the selection was sought. Vitalian was enthroned on July 30, 657.⁴⁶⁵ He soon sent his legates to the imperial capital with letters addressed to Constantine and Peter.⁴⁶⁶ The letter to the Emperor announced his enthronement and that addressed to Peter, as the *Liber Pontificalis* writes, was a synodical epistle in accordance with the tradition.⁴⁶⁷ Vitalian avoided speaking of the Type and in adherence to the provisions of this imperial edict he studiously avoided any references to the energies and the wills of Christ.⁴⁶⁸

The letter of Vitalian was well received by the Byzantine court. As I have often repeated, Constantine had never wished to impose the theory of Monothelitism, but he insisted that his laws and edicts be applied throughout the length of the Empire. Nor did he look favorably upon religious controversies and discussions. He had hoped by avoiding such disputatious matters that some pacification would emerge which could lead to a peaceful settlement of these thorny problems. He hastened to send a reply to Vitalian and to thank him for adhering to the policy which he himself had charted, and not only restored the privileges of the church of Rome, but sent as a gift a Gospel bound in silver and embossed with precious stones.⁴⁶⁹

The Patriarch Peter replied with a letter intentionally refraining from

463. L.P., p. 341; Anastasii, *Historia*, etc., *Vita of Eugene*; *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, p. 417; Duchêsne, *op. cit.*, p. 458; Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 463, 464; Diehl, *Exarchat de Ravenne*, etc., p. 408; Devréesse, *La Vie de St. Maxime*, etc.

464. Migne, P.G., Vol. 90, p. 168.

465. Grumel, *La chronologie*, p. 431; Caspar, *Geschichte des Papstums*, p. 580.

466. Jaffé-Wattenbach, Nos. 2085, 2086; Hergenröther, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

467. L.P., p. 343.

468. Mansi, XI, 549 f; Bréhier, *Le Démembrement*, etc., pp. 176, 177; Lot-Ganshof, *L'Italie Byzantine*, etc., p. 220.

469. L.P., p. 343; Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 470; Dölger, *op. cit.*, No. 229.

making any reference to the disputed subjects.⁴⁷⁰ Following this, the name of Vitalian was recorded in the diptychs of Saint Sophia. He was the first Pope after Honorius to have his name entered in the diptychs.⁴⁷¹

The complete restoration of normal ties between Constantinople and Rome dates from this period when relationships once again became friendly and harmonious.⁴⁷² Vitalian was to be Pope for the remaining duration of the reign of Constantine III.

In the course of this period, three patriarchs occupied the ecumenical throne of Constantinople. Pyrrhus, who was anointed Patriarch in December 638, abandoned the seat on September 29, 641. A great problem of succession arose, for the Byzantine church hastily replaced him without however having previously dethroned him in view of the fact that Pyrrhus had not resigned. At all events, in October 641 Paul, who died on December 27, 653, had been appointed. With his death, the subject of Pyrrhus again came to the fore. Pyrrhus was then residing in Constantinople, but he was no longer in the good graces of church or court circles. His general conduct and his various relapses had brought much suspicion upon him. Yet the fact of the matter was that Pyrrhus continued to be Patriarch since he had neither resigned nor had been deposed. Consequently, the only solution to the matter was his restoration to the throne which he had rightfully held. His resumption of patriarchal duties took place on January 8 or 9, 654, but he died soon after on the 1st of June in the same year.

Peter, presbyter of Saint Sophia,⁴⁷³ or deacon, roving bishop of Thrace and gerocomos,⁴⁷⁴ was appointed to succeed Pyrrhus. He occupied the patriarchal throne for 12 years and 4 months, hence until

470. Mansi, XI, 572.

471. Mansi, XI, 199, 200; Duchhêsne, *op. cit.*, p. 459; Héfélé-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 470; Hergenröther, *op. cit.*, pp. 328, 329; Diehl, *Exarchat*, etc., p. 408.

472. Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, p. 270. Kaestner completely failed to understand the restoration of relationships between Constantinople and Rome. He maintained that Constantine succeeded in forcing the Romans to accept his dogma (p. 73). But this interpretation is incorrect. Constantine neither attempted to do as much, nor was it his policy to impose Monothelitism on the Empire.

473. Nicephorus, *Brief Chronography*.

474. Brooks, *On the Lists of the Patriarchs*, etc.

October 666. For this period of the patriarchal succession there is some confusion due to the variant lists of hierarchs that were inaccurate. Oftentimes, this confusion arose from the insistence of some historians to base their calculations exclusively on the information provided by Western sources and adjusting to this source the dates of the various lists or chroniclers. Thanks however to the studies of Brooks and Grumel, I feel that we can now with confidence accept the above dates for the crucial events of this period.⁴⁷⁵

7

Before bringing this chapter to a close, in which I have attempted to describe the dispute between Constantinople and Rome, I should like again to clear up a few points.

Nearly all those who have dealt with this obscure period of history, being influenced by the chroniclers, both Eastern and Western, and particularly by the Western Church, have given a distorted picture of both the persons involved and the events. Constantine III has been presented as a sinister executioner who had used barbarous methods to impose upon his subjects the heresy in which he had supposedly believed. Nothing is further from the truth, for Constantine had never interested himself in religious matters, nor was he particularly fond of religious dispute. His primary concern was the imposition of internal peace in the Empire in order to concentrate on the more pressing external dangers that threatened Byzantium. This was, after all, the intent of the Type. It is probable that the imperial edict was not suitably composed and worded, yet was in the last analysis, an edict of the Empire the purpose of which was to put a stop to the endlessly disputatious and unresolved religious problems. On the other hand, before the appearance of the dogma of the single energy and after that of the single will in Christ, no one had brought up the matter of the two

475. Theophanes, p. 345; Zonaras, III, 315, who describes Peter as of "like faith", that is, a Monothelite. Synopsis Sathas, p. 111; Eutychius who describes Peter as a "Maronite". Brooks, On the Lists of the Patriarchs, etc., and the London Catalogue, etc., in which latter he makes chronological corrections for precisely this period. Grumel, Les Regestes, etc., and La Chronologie, p. 435.

energies or the two wills. When Sophronius had requested from Sergius the deletion of the chapter on the single energy, and Sergius in turn sought from him written evidence from the Fathers of the church who had accepted two energies, he found himself in a quandary.⁴⁷⁶ It was precisely to such a situation that Constantine had hoped to return.

If he were compelled to intervene forcefully in certain instances, this he did because he demanded from all subjects indiscriminately respect for the laws of the land. One should not forget that within four years two Exarchs had broken out in open rebellion and attempted to become independent sovereigns. And their revolutionary movements had exploited and had been justified by the religious dissensions. After all, how could any state possibly accept defiance of the laws and the non-punishment of the violators of these laws.

Constantine may not have been highly gifted, but he was an able ruler, and perhaps it would not be too far-fetched to maintain that he played a major role in stopping the alarming Arab attack which was no longer purely Arab but began to assume the magnitude of an Asiatic assault on Europe, and indeed at a time when the morale of the Byzantine Empire had reached so low an ebb.

He has been accused of acting with inhuman savagery against Maximus and his disciples. But here again is an instance of a subject that has not been adequately and competently investigated. Until as late as 661 or 662, Constantine had not harmed Maximus. Why his sudden fury and rage? Could the explanation lie in the fact that Maximus had incited or had been involved in the plot of his brother to overthrow the Emperor? For it is a fact that up until that moment Constantine had displayed much meekness and patience with the irksome posture of Maximus. Herein, therefore, one may find the reason for the Emperor's sudden change of attitude.

In any case, the entire period in question which has been inadequately studied and this with undue partisanship, must be re-examined. Unfortunately, the sources extant are sadly deficient. Hopefully new and further evidence may eventually be found with which a revised appreciation of the period can be made. Yet with only the existing evidence, if each topic were to be reconsidered in greater depth with complete objectivity, we may well be able to still find reasonable answers to many of the perplexing questions that continue to plague historians today.

476. See Volume I of this history, p. 300.

CHAPTER VI

THE STATE OF THE CALIPHATE

It would be impossible to obtain a fair understanding of the events described in this volume if from time to time the narrative were not interrupted to give some description of the Arab Empire, primary foe of Byzantium.

Having advanced far beyond the Arabian peninsula on extensive and prolonged razzias by which means they had hoped to solve many of their problems, the Arabs much even to their own surprise suddenly became conquerors. They awoke one day to find themselves masters of an extensive and incredibly wealthy area which would now have need of proper administration. In no time, they became a vast dynamic empire. And to understand the better subsequent developments within that empire, one must meet those leaders who converted the loosely knit provinces into a well-organized power.

In this chapter I shall deal with those leaders who formed the upper echelon of the empire, at least for the period covered by the present volume. To these leaders belongs the credit not only for extending the conquests, but primarily for the organization of this vast new power which was soon destined to dominate half of the then known world.

I

As has been recorded in the second volume, Abu Bakr died according to the general view on the 22 of Djumada II, of the 13th year of the Hegira, that is to say, August 23, 634.⁴⁷⁷ Umar succeeded Abu Bakr. When the latter had fallen sick, he appointed Umar to take charge

477. See Volume II, p. 43, fn. 103.

of the prayers for as long as he was ill. The new Caliph was elected on the same or the following day.⁴⁷⁸

Umar ibn al-Kattab, or Hattab, who was the real founder of the Arab Empire,⁴⁷⁹ was a member of a poor family of merchants in Mecca, but he had received some education.⁴⁸⁰ He had become an adherent of the new religion four or five years before the flight of Mohammed. When the Muslims were still confined for the most part to Mecca, Umar remained an undistinguished member of the sect. It was only after they moved to Medina that he began to stand out among the companions of the Prophet because of his unblemished character and his strong will.

Umar was exceptionally tall,⁴⁸¹ broad-chested, with great strength and stamina. He was dark-complexioned, left-handed, rather bald,⁴⁸² but sported a long thick and grey beard.⁴⁸³ He was famed for his powers of endurance, his frugality and moderation. His usual fare consisted of barley bread, dates and olives, and he drank only water. Umar possessed two changes of clothing, one for the winter and the other a summer garb.⁴⁸⁴ The Eastern chroniclers describe him as a very just man, who observed with austerity the rules of Islam, and possessed an integrity of character, never retaining for his personal use any of the vast hordes of loot that fell into the hands of the Arabs during his Caliphate.⁴⁸⁵

Umar was a vigorous leader, determined, and he possessed an unbelievable capacity for work. But he did not enjoy much popularity with the companions of the Prophet over whom he imposed his will.⁴⁸⁶ Nor was he liked by the rank and file and the populace, yet his extra-

478. Theophanes, p. 336, says the 24th year of Heraclius (A.D. 633-634). Cedrenus, p. 745. According to Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie*, etc., Umar assumed the Caliphate on the 22nd of Djumada II. But since it is generally agreed that Abu Bakr died the 23rd, such a date is unacceptable. Most probably he assumed the Caliphate on the 23rd of Djumada II of the 13th year of the Hegira (August 24, 634).

479. Levi della Vida, in *E.I.*, old ed., pp. 1050, 1051; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen usw.*, p. 220.

480. Caetani, *Annali*, V, 466, 467.

481. Tabari, III, 534; Maqdisi, V, 176; Suyuti, p. 134; Sachau, *Ueber den Zweiten usw.*, p. 292.

482. Eutychius, *op. cit.*; Suyuti, *op. cit.*

483. Caetani, *op. cit.*

484. Weil, *Geschichte usw.*

485. Michael the Syrian, II, 430; Al-Makine, p. 27.

486. Levi della Vida, *op. cit.*; Caetani, *op. cit.*; Nomikos, *Introduction*, etc., p. 112.

ordinary qualifications projected him as their natural leader.⁴⁸⁷ Mohammed had married his daughter Hafsa.

It was to Umar that the Arabs owed the organization of the conquered provinces. It was he who stamped the definitive form of the administration of the newly conquered territories.⁴⁸⁸ He divided the provinces into units known as the Djund or military districts. The inhabitants were subject to the land and capitation tax which were less burdensome than the taxes that had been paid to the Byzantine governors. In many districts, the bishops who headed the communities were responsible for the collection of the impositions.⁴⁸⁹ In this manner, the tax-paying inhabitants retained their former positions whereas the Arabs, as conquerors, who gradually became adherents of Islam, made up the privileged classes. But to make the distribution of tax payments fairer, Umar ordered a census to be made of all the conquered territories. Theophanes records that a count was made of the population, the flocks and other animals, the farmlands, and the plants (I presume he means trees).⁴⁹⁰ Umar finally imposed a proportionate tax in accordance with the estate of each of the inhabitants.⁴⁹¹

Umar recognized that the Arabs were inexperienced in matters of government, and so he decided to retain the existing civil administration and services. The records and ledgers continued to be written in Greek in areas that were formerly Byzantine possessions, or in Persian in lands once belonging to Persia. This system of organization was maintained for a good many decades after the conquest.

Umar continued to use the coins of both Byzantine and Persian mints. In former Persian areas, the coins of Chosroes II circulated for the most part with Persian inscriptions and the altar of fire. After the 41st year of the Hegira (661-662), new coins were minted on which the name of Chosroes was replaced by that of the Caliph or the governor of

487. Marçais, *Le Monde Oriental*, p. 191.

488. Amantos, *Ihistory*, etc., I, 323.

489. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, etc., p. 28.

490. Theophanes, p. 341; Cedrenus, p. 752; Michael the Syrian, II, 426, who dates the census in the year 951 (A.D. 640).

491. The Chronicle of Séert, p. 262. This Chronicle which is of Nestorian origin, records that the country suffered for five years until the Arab suzerainty. Umar distributed the tax obligations on the basis of the wealth of each inhabitant. Agapius, p. 218.

the province.⁴⁹² In former Byzantine territories, the coin of Heraclius I was retained with all the Christian symbols together with the monogram of Christ. With time, the coins began to carry the year of the Hegira and the inscribed letters in two languages, Greek and Arabic.⁴⁹³

Umar also fixed the new Arabic chronology, the dating of which began with the first year of the Hegira. It was established, however inaccurately, that the Hegira took place on the 1st of Moharrem of the year of the Hegira, which at that time fell on a Friday, the 16th of July 622.⁴⁹⁴

Despite his extraordinary accomplishments, and his generosity, Umar did not gain the affection of the Arabs because of his great austerity. Ali, son-in-law of Mohammed, and his faction turned against him and claimed that Ali should have been rightly elected Caliph.

On the 26th of the month Djul-hidje, a Wednesday, in the 23rd year of the Hegira (3rd of November 644),⁴⁹⁵ while praying in the mosque of Medina, Umar was stabbed to death by a Persian renegade⁴⁹⁶ by name Abu Lulua. It is reputed that the assassination of Umar was planned by the companions of the Prophet who had wearied of his tyranny, or rather, of his severity.⁴⁹⁷

Umar had been Caliph for more than 10 years, as most chroniclers record.⁴⁹⁸ In actual fact, however, it was 10 years and about 2 1/2

492. Walker, *A Catalogue, etc.*, p. xxxvi; Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies, etc.*, pp. vii f.

493. Lavoix, *op. cit.*; Lane-Pool, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins, etc.*, Vol. IX.

494. Grumel, *La Chronologie*, p. 280.

495. Maçoudi, IV, 191. Theophanes reports, p. 343, that he was murdered on November 5. Eutychius, p. 1108, says the 27th of Djulhidje (November 4). In any case, all agree with the month and the year. Tabari, III. 534; Al-Fakhri; Maqdisi, V, 176; Al-Makine, p. 127; Elie Bar Sinaya, p. 84; Baethgen, *Fragmente Syrischer usw.*, says the year 955 (A.D. 644); Sachau, *op. cit.*; Weil, *op. cit.*

496. Theophanes, p. 343, uses the word "magaritis" which was a Byzantine word describing those who had rejected Christianity and became Muslims.

497. Levi della Vida, in *E.I.*, old ed., pp. 1050, 1051; Caetani, *Annali*, Vol. V.

498. Theophanes, p. 343, writes 12 years, as does Agapius, p. 219. The Chronicle of Séert says 10 years, 7 months and 3 days, Hamsa, *Annalium*, Vol. II, records 10 years, 6 months and 18 days, Makrizi, ed. Blochet, 10 years, 6 months, 4 days, Tabari, 10 years, 5 or 6 months, and 20 or 4 days, Maçoudi, 10 years, 6 months and 17 days, Chronicle of the Year 724, 10 years and 3 months, Chronicle of the Year 819, 11 years, Michael the Syrian, 12 years, Al-Makine, 10 years and 187 days, and the Chronicle of Jacob of Edessa, 12 years.

months. When Umar died, he was, according to the tradition, 55 years of age. But others maintain that he was 63.⁴⁹⁹

2

The death of Umar created problems for the succession. The principal contenders were Ali, son-in-law of Mohammed, Zubayr, one of the original companions, and Talhah. Of the other possible contenders, Abd al-Rahman ben Awf, one of the first and outstanding of Muslims, and Saad ben Abi Wakkas, the victor of the Persians, were not inclined to seek the Caliphate, preferring rather to support and elect the faction of Othman or Uthman ben Affan.⁵⁰⁰ Abd al-Rahman played a most important part in the selection.

Uthman belonged to the great family of the Umayyads of the most powerful and influential tribe of the Qurayshites. He was a wealthy merchant of Mecca, who had embraced Islam a few years before the Hegira and had gone to Medina where he met the Prophet. He married Rukaya, daughter of Mohammed, and after her death married another daughter by name of Um Kultum.⁵⁰¹

Uthman was of average stature, handsome in features, and dark-complexioned with a long beard.⁵⁰² Tradition depicts him as a model of elegance and beauty.

Until assuming the Caliphate, Uthman had not been involved in any exceptional or spectacular activity. Neither in the period of Mohammed's life, nor that of Abu Bakr, nor of Umar, had he become particularly outstanding. He was at bottom a good man, but of fickle character, and his most prominent distinguishing feature was the want of vigour and drive, and the lack of resolve.

He assumed the reigns of power 2 or 3 days after the death of Umar, hence on the 5th or 6th of November 644. He perpetuated

499. Maqdisi, V, 176; Maçoudi, IV, 191.

500. Theophanes, p. 343; Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, 262; Levi della Vida, in *E.I.*, old ed., IV, 1077-1100; Brockelmann, *Histoire des Peuples*, etc., p. 62.

501. Levi della Vida, *op. cit.* Lammans, in his *Fatima et les filles de Mahomet*, disagrees.

502. Maqdisi, V, 82; Eutychius, p. 1112.

Umar's policy of conquest, and was the first to permit the construction of a fleet and thus made of the empire of nomads a strong naval power.

Uthman's main attention was devoted to the preservation of the trustworthiness of the text of the Koran. For this purpose he formed a committee headed by Zaid ibn Tabit, formerly secretary to the Prophet who had attempted the first restoration of the Koran during the reign of Abu Bakr. All the various texts were gathered from the provinces. Under his personal supervision, the final and authentic wording of the Koran was drawn up, in the light of which he ordered all other texts or variants destroyed. It is said Uthman had first decided on the measure to bring about a halt to the dissensions arising from the misinterpretation of the great book, of which the new text, believed to contain the authentic teachings of Mohammed, could no longer be distorted.

The various chroniclers have been unduly harsh with Uthman. One of the more serious accusations against him was nepotism. He was censured for supporting exclusively his relatives and kinsmen whom he appointed to the most important administrative posts. His right-hand man was his nephew Marwan whom he made responsible for the administration.⁵⁰³ He was also accused of being rapacious and greedy, and that he was inordinately fond of hoarding gold.⁵⁰⁴ With time, a gradual wave of agitation and disaffection began to grow that was abetted by an increasing support for Ali. In provinces as far apart as Iraq and Egypt insurrections against Uthman broke out, until finally with the toleration if not the actual encouragement of Aisha, wife of Mohammed, and daughter of Abu Bakr, a plot was organized to dethrone Uthman. Groups of conspirators from Kufa, from Fustat (Cairo) and other parts of the empire began to flock to Medina, but there were disarmed by the apparent condescension of Uthman, making lavish promises to replace the administrators and satisfying their demands. But in the end they surrounded Uthman's residence. Uthman had sought the assistance of his kinsman Muawiyah who dispatched a strong detachment of troops to his aid. When news reached the insurgents of the approach of the force from Syria, they broke into the residence of the Caliph and slew him as

503. Al-Makine, pp. 37 f.; Suyuti, p. 161; Lammens, *L'Avènement des Marwanides*, etc.; Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

504. Michael the Syrian, II, 448; Abul Faradj Bar Hebraeus, p. 96.

he was reading the Koran.⁵⁰⁵ Uthman had been completely abandoned by the companions of the Prophet. Ali's role in the plot has not been satisfactorily explained. Some maintain that Ali attempted to save Uthman, but many believe him responsible for the murder.

Uthman was assassinated on Friday, the 18th of the month Djul-hidje in the 35th year of the Hegira, that is, June 17, 656⁵⁰⁶ after having reigned as Caliph for 11 years, 7 months and 13 days.⁵⁰⁷ Uthman at the time of his death was 82 years of age.⁵⁰⁸

3

Uthman's murder caused great consternation and disturbance in the Arab world. The seeds of the dissension that had been planted then, continued to divide the Arabs for many centuries. Most of the Umayyads, the tribe to which Uthman belonged, had fled from Medina fearing extensive massacres. Great pressure was applied to the leaders of the insurgents to elect Ali as the new Caliph. In the wake of such pressure and the use of threats and force on the part of the followers of Ali, some of the important electors also fled from Medina. Ali, Cousin of Mohammed and his son-in-law (he had married the Prophet's daughter Fatima), was chosen Caliph and immediately assumed leadership of the empire. The tradition says that he became Caliph on the 18th of the Djul-hidje in the 35th year of the Hegira (June 17, 656), that is, on the day that Uthman was murdered. Another tradition has it that Ali

505. Sébèos, p. 149; Agapius, p. 224; Abu Faradj, op. cit., p. 99; Caetani, *Chronographia*, p. 368 wherein is found the relevant bibliography; Levi della Vida, op. cit.; Brockelmann, op. cit., pp. 63 f.; Marçais, op. cit., p. 197.

506. Baethgen, *Fragmente*, etc., p. 113; Tabari, III, 590 f.; Suyuti, p. 167; Caetani, op. cit., p. 368, and *Annali*, VIII, 257 f.

507. Theophanes, p. 346, writes that he was "Ameer for 10 years"; Hamsa, op. cit., says 11 years, 11 months and 22 days; Makrizi, ed. Blochet, 11 years, 11 months and 14 days; Maçoudi, IV, 276 f., 12 years less 8 days; *Chronicle of 724*, 12 years, and 4 months; *Chronicle of 819*, 11 1/2 years, and *Al-Makine*, 11 years and 344 days.

508. Arab tradition gives this age, but various chroniclers write differently. For example, Suyuti records that according to some sources he was 81 years of age, and according to other sources he was 84, or 88, or even 90. Maqdisi writes that he was assassinated at the age of 82 or 88.

yielded to the pressures of the conspirators and was proclaimed the new Caliph on the 24th of Djul-hidje (June 23rd).⁵⁰⁹

Ali is described as a dark-complexioned man of average height, bald, and fat with a distended belly which Eutychius calls "pot-bellied". He possessed a rich flowing cotton-white beard that covered his chest. He was an unpleasant-natured man who was always prepared to offend and insult those around him. Although brave, he was indecisive, and had not taken part in any expedition of conquest, disagreeing at the outset with the choices of both Abu Bakr and Umar as Caliphs. Ali possessed unusually great learning and was an able speaker and orator. Living very frugally, he adhered with austerity to the teachings of the Koran.

Many of the companions of the Prophet did not recognize Ali as the lawful Caliph because he had been chosen by a minority of their numbers all of whom had the right to take part in the election of the new Caliph. Muawiyah, governor of Syria and cousin of Uthman held Ali responsible for the murder and sought blood-revenge in accordance with Arab custom. He had dominated Syria and Palestine, and with the able assistance of Amr became master of Egypt also.

The companions who had taken refuge in Mecca refused to recognize Ali's leadership. With the connivance of Aisha who had taken an active part in the plot against Uthman, but did not favor Ali, they rebelled against the latter. At their head were Al-Zubayr ben Awwan and Talhah ben Ubaydallah. Aisha, widow of Mohammed, hastened to join forces with the insurgents. Zubayr, who was one of the original followers of Mohammed, of whom he was a cousin, was famed for his bravery and daring, and was highly esteemed among the Muslims. Talhah was one of the best-liked of the companions of the Prophet. One of the earliest converts to Islam, he had been wounded while defending Mohammed. But he never played any important role in the period of the early Caliphs since he was not on friendly terms with them.⁵¹⁰ At the head of a few hundred men, Zubayr and Talhah marched against Al-Basra⁵¹¹

509. Elie Bar Sinaya, p. 87; Caetani, *Chronographia*, p. 369; L. Veccia Vaglieri, in *E.I.*, New ed., pp. 393, 394.

510. Levi della Vida, in *E.I.*, old ed., IV, 673.

511. Basra, modern Bassora, a town of lower Mesopotamia, southeast of Baghdad. It was at first a military camp of the Arabs to control their Persian conquests. It was founded in the 17th year of the Hegira (A.D. 638) on the orders of Umar.

which they occupied. Ali quickly gathered a sizeable army and despite the threat posed from Syria, advanced against the insurgents, and in a battle near Basra (Bassora) he defeated them. Zubayr and Talhah were slain and Aisha was taken prisoner, but was finally released and reconciled with Ali. This engagement, known as the "battle of the camel", because the fiercest fighting took place round Aisha's camel, occurred in the month of Djumada, in the 36th year of the Hegira (December 656).⁵¹²

In the meantime, the Arab world had been torn asunder. As Theophanes writes, "those who dwelt in the desert supported Ali ... and those of Syria and Egypt sided with Muawiyah ..."⁵¹³ And in fact Ali had relied for support mostly on the Arabs of Iraq and of lower Mesopotamia, and in part of those in Medina.⁵¹⁴

Muawiyah demanded from Ali the surrender of the murderers of Uthman. Thereupon Ali gathered a large army and marched against Muawiyah. Crossing the Euphrates, he met Muawiyah and his army near Siffin.⁵¹⁵ After some skirmishing, a truce was called in the months of June and July 657. Negotiations were held but without any concrete results. After the termination of the talks, skirmishes and military operations were again resumed in which Muawiyah appeared to be worsted. The latter then suggested some kind of arbitration based on the principles of the Koran which Ali, under pressure from the more fanatical of his followers, initially rejected. When Muawiyah realized that the battle was being lost, at the suggestion of Amr he had placed pieces of cloth with verses from the Koran imprinted on them which were attached to the ends of the lances. Under the persuasion of his exhausted troops, Ali

512. Tabari, who has most of the details, ed. Zotenberg, III, 658 f.; Maçoudi, IV, 292 f., Levi della Vida, *Il Califatto di Ali*, etc., in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, VI (1913); Caetani, *Chronographia*, p. 292. The latter prefers the 14th or 15th of Djumada II, that is, the 8th or 9th December 656.

513. Theophanes, p. 346; Zonaras, op. cit.; Agapius, p. 225; Scebès, p. 148; Michael the Syrian, II, 448; Abul Faradj, p. 99.

514. Amantos, *History*, etc., I, 323.

515. Theophanes, pp. 346, 347, reports that the two armies met "between Varvalissos at Caesarium near the Euphrates, but the troops of Muawiyah won the battle and captured the water supply. Plagued by thirst, the forces of Ali began to desert ..." It is true that the initial engagements were fought for control of the aqueduct, but the development of events was not as simple as described by Theophanes.

accepted to discuss terms (in August 657) but he aroused the chagrin and rage of his fanatical supporters.

Thanks to the cunning of Amr, the arbitration turned out to Ali's disadvantage whereupon the latter refused to accept the conditions agreed to, following which hostilities were resumed. To have a free hand in his campaign against Ali, Muawiyah was forced to seek a truce with the Byzantines the terms of which were most favorable to Constantinople.

Various small insurrections and clashes took place in nearly all parts of the Arab dominion, thus hindering Ali from concentrating his efforts on crushing Muawiyah. But once having subdued the minor rebellions, Ali attempted to assemble a new army to march against Syria, but few, much to his disillusionment, hastened to respond to his call.

It is said that three fanatical Muslims decided then to murder those leaders responsible for the dissension in the empire, Ali, Muawiyah and Amr.⁵¹⁶ Two of the conspirators were arrested, but the third, Abd Rahman ben Muldgam, succeeded in wounding Ali with a poisoned blade, in the mosque of Kufa, as a consequence of which Ali died 2 or 3 days later at the age of 62 or 63 years.⁵¹⁷

The army then proclaimed as new Caliph in January 661, Hassan, the son of Ali.

4

Hassan was 36 or 37 years of age when he was proclaimed Caliph in the 40th year of the Hegira, that is, towards the latter part of January 661. He had displayed no interest in public affairs nor was he active in this sector, as long as his father was alive. His followers pressed him to resume the war against Muawiyah who did not recognize him as Caliph.

Muawiyah invaded Mesopotamia and Hassan marched out to meet him, but complete anarchy reigned in his ranks. Finally, after clashing

516. Michael the Syrian, II, 448.

517. Theophanes, p. 347; Elie Bar Sinaya, p. 88; Caetani, *Chronographia*, p. 451; Marçais, *op. cit.*, p. 199. Ali's assassin was a Haritzite. The members of his family were all murdered in the ensuing massacre of the Haritzites by Ali after the battle at Narva in 658. (Levi-della Vida, in *E.A.*, old ed. II, pp. 957 f.). The murder therefore was not the result of a plot but rather in the nature of a vendetta.

with the followers of his late father, he became disillusioned and decided to come to an agreement with Muawiyah. After prolonged negotiations, an agreement was reached whereby Houssein, brother of Hassan, was to receive an annual pension of two million dirhams,⁵¹⁸ whereas Hassan would get a lump sum as compensation of five million dirhams, and moreover, for the duration of his life would receive the income from a certain province of Persia. Hassan and Muawiyah met at Adruh⁵¹⁹ and there Hassan officially surrendered the Caliphate, after which he withdrew to Medina where he died in the 49th year of the Hegira (669-670).⁵²⁰

5

Muawiyah officially assumed the Caliphate in July of the 41st year of the Hegira (A.D. 661).⁵²¹ But there is disagreement among the chroniclers concerning the duration of his leadership. (see Note XIII).

Muawiyah ibn Sufyan came from the great tribe of the Qurayshites of Mecca. He was born in the latter city in the early 7th Century.⁵²² He was tall in stature and rather handsome.⁵²³

It was not until the surrender of Mecca that Muawiyah adopted the new faith. Mohammed, who wished to renew ties with the Qurayshites of whom one of the leaders was Abu Sufyan, father of Muawiyah, took the young Muawiyah whom he respected for his cleverness and learning under his wing to act as secretary.

Muawiyah left the Arabian peninsula as a deputy commander and as a standard bearer of the detachment that was led by his brother Yazid.

518. A Persian silver coin adopted by the Arabs. Originally it contained 3.98 to 4 grammes of silver. In the age of Mohammed, the ratio of the dinar (the gold coin) and the dirham was 10 to 12 of the latter to one gold coin. Later, however, this ratio was greatly increased. See G. Miles, in *E.I.*, new ed., II, pp. 328, 329.

519. Adruh or Arde, an ancient Roman camp between Maan and Petra. Here also the meeting of the arbitrators took place after the battle of Siffin.

520. Caetani, *Chronographia*; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*; Lammens, in *Shorter Encycl. of Islam*, p. 135; Veccia Vaglieri, in *E.I.*, new ed., Vol. III, 247 f.

521. Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie*, etc.

522. Lammens, *Muawiyah*, in *E.I.*, Old ed., pp. 659-665.

523. Suyuti, p. 197.

He fought in the course of the great *razzia* and later in the period of conquest, assisting his brother in many ways. Muawiyah conquered most of the coastal towns and finally occupied the great Byzantine fortress city of Palestinian Caesarea. Upon the death of his brother Yazid, Umar appointed Muawiyah, who established his seat at Damascus, as governor of Syria and Palestine. Following the death of Umar, Muawiyah was reappointed to the same office by Uthman of whom he was, moreover, a cousin.

Muawiyah was a fine and daring warrior. But above all, he was a most talented political leader and a remarkable organizer.⁵²⁴ It was probably due to him that the army of Syria was the finest fighting force in the Arab empire, thanks to its organization and particularly to its high discipline.⁵²⁵

It was also Muawiyah who was responsible for the first Arab fleet which not only helped to extend their conquests, but constituted a perpetual threat to the Byzantine Empire.

Muawiyah was progressive in ideas and unusually liberal-minded.⁵²⁶ When he had undertaken the administration of Syria, he was over 35 years of age,⁵²⁷ and probably nearer 40. He at once understood the magnitude of the problem of governing the new areas under his rule, and hence decided upon the retention of the existing Byzantine administrative machinery. But especially after becoming Caliph, Muawiyah depended heavily upon the native Syrian civil service. Most of the civil servants who held senior administrative offices were Christians.⁵²⁸ All the records and files of the government continued to be recorded in Greek. Ibn Sardjun, "a man most Christian",⁵²⁹ was responsible for collecting the taxes and handling the finances of the army. He enjoyed the complete confidence of Muawiyah and of his son Yazid. He was the grandfather of St. John Damascene.

The coins that were minted in the province of Syria were similar to the old imperial coins and bore the stamp of the Byzantine cross. The first coins were minted in Damascus, and in addition to the usual Greek

524. Amantos, *History*, I, 325.

525. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du Calife Moawia Ier*, pp. 159-162, and Muawiyah, in *E.I.*, Old ed.

526. Nomikos, *Introduction*, etc., p. 181.

527. Lammens, *La Syrie*, I, 58.

528. Amantos, *op. cit.*, p. 325; Marçais, *Le Monde Oriental*, pp. 201, 202.

symbols bore the letters DAM (Damascus) and the year of the Hegira. Makrizi has maintained that Muawiyah had minted coins which bore an impression of his head, but this is inaccurate. Another story relates that Muawiyah had minted coins without the crucifix, but these were not accepted.⁵³⁰

Without ceasing to be the religious head of the Arab empire, as other Caliphs, Muawiyah stood out primarily as the political leader and successful administrator.

Muawiyah died at an advanced age in Damascus, where he had moved the capital of the empire, in April 680. He had been suffering from a stomach ulcer.⁵³¹

529. Theophanes, p. 365.

530. Nöldeke, *Zur Geschichte der Araber usw.*, p. 96; Caetani, *Chronographia*, p. 453; Lavoix, *Catalogue*, etc., p. xiv.

531. Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazid*, etc. Lammens maintains that Muawiyah died at the age of 80. But in his work, *La Syrie*, I, 58, he himself maintains that when Muawiyah became governor of Syria, that is, in 640, he was 35. Since, therefore, he died in 680, he was about 75 years of age.

CHAPTER VII

OPERATIONS AGAINST THE SLAVS

It had been pointed out in the second volume that there is no more obscure and darker age than the 7th Century when dealing with the European provinces of the Byzantine Empire. This century brought deep and dramatic changes in Byzantium. Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to say that Byzantium herself was undergoing the very same dangers that the so-called Western Roman Empire had suffered a few centuries earlier and which brought about its fall.⁵³² The lack of serious sources, particularly of those contemporary with the dramatic events, makes difficult a clear picture even to a certain degree of what precisely had taken place. Mighty empires such as Persia disappeared from the world scene while others, such as the Avar Empire, ceased to constitute a threat to Byzantium. Completely new dangers arose. New races, new nations, new religions emerged on the fringes of the extensive frontiers to menace the very existence of a weak and exhausted Byzantium.

Yet the Empire survived, but at a price. Areas vital to Byzantium were lost, and the Empire itself encouraged new peoples and tribes to settle within the boundaries in areas that had been depopulated or laid waste by constant invasions and marauding bands. It was in such manner that it restored to a certain degree its human resources. It is true that Byzantium did not accept the loss of all these areas gladly, except those in the northwestern part of the Balkans wherein the Empire had deliberately patronized the settlement of Croats and Serbs. But this was an intentional policy to ensure the security in one sector of her extensive northern frontier. The other areas which she had lost, from time to time she would recover, but much effort and undiminished exertion was needed to convert the new tribes to Christianity, and to absorb⁵³³ the greater part of these new populations into the Empire.

532. Diehl, *Le Monde Oriental*, p. 211.

533. Lemerle, *Le Péloponnèse*, etc.

The demographic changes in the Balkan peninsula in the course of the 7th Century are most difficult to unravel in view of the migrations and movements of population that occurred in this vast region. I shall first attempt to deal with the complicated issue of the penetration of these new tribes and their settlement within the borders of the Empire. I will not touch upon the establishment of the Croats and Serbs which has been already dealt with at length in the first volume.⁵³⁴ By the settlement of these two peoples with the aid of the imperial forces in the northwestern part of the Balkans, and their subjection of the Slavic races that had settled in the area, Byzantium had secured the protection of that part of the frontier from the nearly century-old threat of the Avars. These new races, warlike and vigorous, guarded the Byzantine Empire from any potential attacker in that sector.

Once having examined this thorny problem, I will then deal with the campaigns of Constantine III against the "Sclaviniae", as Theophanes describes them, or the "Sclavenes", as Cedrenus writes. This matter also presents certain difficulties.

1

The entrance of the Slavs on the stage of Balkan history and their colonization of the peninsula has created infinite difficulties for historians. Often the subject has gone beyond the bounds of scientific investigation and become the object of various political interpretations and chauvinistic policies which naturally enough bear no direct relationship with factual history.

The conditions and the causes for the descent and the settlement of the Slavonic tribes in the Balkan peninsula, not to mention the precise chronology, continues to remain an insoluble problem despite the numerous detailed studies on the subject that have appeared to date.⁵³⁵

Sources on the subject are altogether too scarce. No single serious or reliable source exists which records events and specific details.

For the general penetration of tribes, Slavic and other, the only comparatively dependable text is that of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus contained in several works that are still extant.

534. See Byzantium in the 7th Century, Vol. I, Chapt. XXII.

535. Charanis, P., Ethnic Changes, etc.

More specifically for the region round Thessaloniki, there exist the books of the *Miracula* of Saint Demetrius. But it is a purely religious text the purpose of which is not to provide one with historical fact but to sing the praises of the Saint through whose efforts the city of Thessaloniki was preserved.

Concerning the southern part of the Balkans, there exist several chronicles and the correspondence of a patriarch or some bishops. And these sources, irrespective of their value and importance, cannot be treated as historical, for they are chronicles or letters that have been compiled or written to serve a specific purpose of the hierarchs.

I have described the worth of these sources in the first volume. The books on the *Miracula* of Saint Demetrius have not yet been published in their entirety, nor has the chronology of events referred to therein been fully corroborated.⁵³⁶ All such hagiographical or ecclesiastical sources are highly suspicious, and must be treated with utmost care.⁵³⁷ The saints' lives tend to describe the various events or to account for a final salvation at the last moment by some miraculous intervention. Very rarely is any concrete historical evidence forthcoming except to support a supposed miracle or to show the need for the saint's intervention. The same applies to ecclesiastical chronicles that attempt to justify or support some demand or contention of a bishop. The more dramatically the events are described, the more tragically and exaggeratedly are the dangers magnified, they believe that they would obtain greater support for themselves or for their sees. The narrative or the details of some event are so obscured and blurred by religious delusion and fancy that it becomes most difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish where the fanciful and improbable ends and where the plausibility begins.⁵³⁸

Many scholars use the narrative of Isidore of Seville, for example, to maintain that in the course of the 7th Century, the entire Balkan peninsula was overrun by the Slavs and that the region had for centuries

536. The definitive critical edition of the *Miracula* of St. Demetrius is in the process of preparation by the learned scholar P. Lemerle who has been collecting material over many years and who had made the announcement to this effect at the 9th Byzantine Congress held at Thessaloniki. All Byzantinists await the completion of this commendable and herculean task with impatience.

537. Vol. I, Chapt. XXII, Vol. II, Chapt. VIII, para. 3.

538. Barisic, *Les Miracles de St. Démétrius*, etc.

been isolated and cut off from any contacts with Byzantium. Regarding the problem of southern Greece and particularly of the Peloponnese, I will deal in another paragraph.

Vasiliev relies heavily on an Armenian edition of Ptolemy⁵³⁹ and on an epitome of Strabo's geography,⁵⁴⁰ to support the contention that the Slavs in the 7th Century reached the Peloponnese.⁵⁴¹

Bury⁵⁴² believes that in this century the principal settlements of the Slavs were in Moesia and Macedonia, and that whereas the countryside was inundated by the invaders, the larger cities and towns remained under Byzantine control. He adds that the activities of Heraclius and his successors were aimed at compelling the Slavs more and more to recognize Byzantine suzerainty.

Niederle⁵⁴³ on the other hand argues that the great invasions of the Slavs took place in the latter half of the 6th Century and in the entire course of the 7th. It is his impression, however, that their movement to the Danube and the Sava, and subsequent penetration southwards occurred much earlier than the 6th Century. Gradually, the Slavs settled in large enclaves, especially in Macedonia, as a result of which these regions were known as "Sclaviniae" by the Byzantines.⁵⁴⁴ Moreover, he adds, the Greeks still populated the coastal areas of the Black Sea and the Aegean, and in continental Greece they still constituted the core of the population. It is the only reasonable explanation for the rapid assimilation and disappearance of all these Slavic tribes that in the 6th Century penetrated and settled permanently in Greece.⁵⁴⁵

But according to Dvornik, the Slavs first began to settle in the province of Illyricum (the Balkan peninsula) in the latter part of the 6th

539. The text is ascribed to Ananias of Shirak, who had studied at Trebizond in the reign of Heraclius. See Maricq, *Notes sur les Slaves*, etc.

540. Epitome of Strabo, in Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, II, p. 574, "and at present Scythian Slaves dwell in the whole of Epirus and nearly all Greece and the Peloponnese and Macedonia". Amantos (Slavs and Slavophones, etc.) argues that the word "nemo" (reap) does not signify "possess" or "control", but since they were nomadic peoples, they "enjoyed the fruit" of the countryside.

541. Vasiliev, *The Slavs in Greece*.

542. Bury, *A History*, etc., II, 279 f., and p. 331.

543. Niederle, *Manuel de l'Antiquité Slave*, I, 48 f.

544. *Ibid.*, I, 105 f.

545. *Ibid.*, I, 68 f.

Century. The uncertainty and abnormality existing in the reign of Phocas and the inability of a weakened Byzantium to react because of the wars against the Persians and Arabs, enabled the Slavs to penetrate deeply and to settle permanently without hindrance in more solid masses in some areas and sparsely in others throughout all the European provinces of the Empire. Moesia, Dardania, Dacia and Macedonia were inundated by the Slavs who gradually penetrated even more deeply into the heart of Greece.⁵⁴⁶

According to Levtchenko, they settled in Greece in the 7th Century and forced the indigenous population to flee to the mountains (?) or to the safety of fortified towns along the coast. The Slavic tribes, splintered by local chieftains and leaders into smaller groups, occupied the deserted areas.⁵⁴⁷

But Charanis maintains that the Slavs first made their appearance in the Balkans in the 6th Century at which time they assisted the Avars in their incursions into imperial territories. The main settlements of Slavs began in the reigns of Phocas and Heraclius. The colonization was greatly facilitated by the fact that extensive tracts of land extending over a vast area, especially in the heart of the Balkan peninsula, had suffered much in the way of raids and despoliation, as a consequence of which they had become depopulated and deserted. Many tribes had settled in the region round Thessaloniki. Others established themselves in Greece. Charanis adds that there remains the question of the magnitude of the penetration and the chronology of the various settlements.⁵⁴⁸

Vasmer dealt with the problem using another approach. He established that in Epirus and Western Greece there existed 558 Slavic place-names, 387 in the Western and Central Peloponnese, 275 in Thessaly and Central Greece, whereas in Attica, in Boeotia as well as in the Eastern Peloponnese the Slavic place-names were few and far between.⁵⁴⁹

Georgakas doubts and often rightly so the Slavic origin of many of these names which Vasmer claimed to be of Slavonic origin.⁵⁵⁰

546. Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance, etc.*, pp. 9 f., and *The Slavs, Their Early History, etc.*, pp. 41 f., and pp. 116 f.

547. Levtchenko, *Byzance, etc.*, p. 125.

548. Charanis, *Ethnic Changes, etc.*

549. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland*.

550. Georgakas, *Beitrage zur Deutung usw.*, and *Griechische Ortsnamen*.

Zakythinos argues that one cannot speak of conquests and permanent colonization by the Slavs in the Balkans before the 6th Century. The chaos arising in Phocas's reign and the ensuing wars against the Persians permitted the unhindered occupation and continued penetration of the Slavs southward.⁵⁵¹ In the 7th Century, the greatest concentration of Slavonic settlements was found in the old provinces of Istria, Dalmatia, Dardania, and Moesia. In lower Moesia (modern Bulgaria), the colonies were more sparse, and the settlements to the south of the Balkan range gave the impression of small scattered enclaves in the midst of a compact Greek population. The settlers had only a most primitive, if any, political structure.⁵⁵²

According to Kyriakides, the province of Illyricum because of the wars against the Persians was left to its own resources as a consequence of which it had reached a point of near disintegration. In the 7th Century, Slavic tribes were established therein and in the areas north of Thessaloniki as well as in the higher regions of the Rhodope range.⁵⁵³

Nestor doubts whether Slavs settled in Wallachia and Moldavia before the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th Centuries. No indication of such penetration exists in the sources, and it is his considered opinion that one cannot accept as fact permanent colonization by the Slavs only because these sources refer to invasions.⁵⁵⁴

Such in brief are the basic theories of many scholars regarding the thorny problem of the Slavonic penetration of the Balkans. Many other historians could be cited, but they are too vast in number, and a complete listing of the multitude of authors who have given their interpretations would certainly fall beyond the scope of this history.

2

The penetration of the Slavs into the southern half of the Balkans and especially in Central Greece and the Peloponnese has given rise to

551. Zakythinos, *The Slavs in Greece*, pp. 23 f.

552. Zakythinos, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

553. Kyriakides, *Byzantine Studies*, IV, pp. 135 f.

554. Ion Nestor, *L'Etablissement des Slaves, etc.*, and *La Pénétration des Slaves dans la Péninsule Balkanique*.

much heated argument and many questionable theories. In this paragraph I shall deal with the sources upon which the various theories are based, and record briefly the most important of these. I would again repeat, however, that there exists so much literature on the subject, that I shall of necessity deal only with the few texts which in my opinion are of primary importance.

The so-called Chronicle of Monemvasia of which several variations exist, describes the appearance of the Avars in the days of Justinian and their wars against Byzantium. It records that in the reign of Maurice, "they occupied all of Thessaly and Greece, the ancient Epirus, Attica and Euboea ... then invading the Peloponnese (i.e. the Avars) they conquered it and expelled the civilized Greek nation ... and settled there themselves". It proceeds to describe the dispersion of the inhabitants as, for example, those of Patras, who fled to "Rhigio" (Reggio) in Calabria, and the Laconians of whom some took flight to Sicily while others founded the town of Monemvasia, and continues, "thus the Avars conquered and inhabited the Peloponnese for ... 218 years ... being subject to neither the Emperor of the Romans nor any other power ..." The Chronicle goes on to relate that the Eastern part of the Peloponnese from Corinth to Cape Maleas, "... was not occupied by the Sthavinic (sic) race⁵⁵⁵ due to the ruggedness and the impassability of the land ...",⁵⁵⁶ the strategos by name Sclerus, who was there, attacked "the Sthavinic race",⁵⁵⁷ destroyed it and encouraged the original inhabitants to resettle there (?). Upon learning of this, the Emperor Nicephorus⁵⁵⁸ decided to rebuild the cities and churches. He learned where the former inhabitants of Patras were then living and ordered their return to the city where he re-established them with their Bishop

555. As all scholars who have studied the text confess, although the Chronicle oddly enough describes the occupation of the Peloponnese by the Avars and their settlement there, suddenly and for no explicable reason, it talks of the "Sthavinic" nation, that is, the Slavs, their penetration and colonization, of which it not only fails to describe but does not even previously refer to.

556. This is a very strange statement. It is generally well known that the Eastern part of the Peloponnese is not specially rugged nor impassable. The plains of Argos and Nauplia are among the most productive of Greece.

557. The Chronicle no longer refers to the Avars, but only to the race of the Slavs.

558. Nicephorus, I, Emperor of Byzantium from A.D. 802-811.

Athanasius and made the bishopric into a Metropolitan see. Moreover, he rebuilt Lacedaemon (Sparta) from its very foundations in which he settled "Kafirs (?), and Thracians, and Armenians ..." ⁵⁵⁹ He restored it to a bishopric and incorporated it together with the bishops of Corone and Methone in the Metropolitan see of Patras. After all these events, "the barbarians" were baptized Christians (I presume the Slavs).

Such is the summary of the passage in this famous Chronicle ⁵⁶⁰ the discovery of which has given rise to much controversy. In addition to the Chronicle there are also: 1) The scholium of Arethas ⁵⁶¹ which confirms the dispersal of the inhabitants of Patras and the occupation of the Western portion of the Peloponnese by the ... Slavs. 2) The letter of the Patriarch Nicholas (1084-1111) to the Emperor Alexius Comnenus in which he supports the tradition that the Peloponnese had been occupied by the "Avars" ⁵⁶² for 218 years and that Patras was liberated thanks to the miraculous intervention of St. Andrew. 3) Reports of the bishops of Monemvasia ⁵⁶³ that support the rights of the see of Monemvasia against the Archbishop of Corinth and which repeat in part events that are recorded by the Chronicle, although they write of the occupation of the Peloponnese by the "Scythians".

Besides the above purely ecclesiastical sources, there are extant several texts that bear directly on the matter at hand.

I. In the book dedicated to his son Romanus, ⁵⁶⁴ Constantine Por-

559. All efforts made by scholars to explain "Kafirs" have proved fruitless. But the fact that the Chronicle speaks of "Thracians and Armenians" could well mean that all those who were settled according to the Chronicle in Sparta, hence also the "Kafirs", came from Asia Minor. The Thracians should refer to the inhabitants of the Thracian theme of which the capital city was probably Ephesus. The Metropolitan sees of Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, and so on, were included in this theme (see Pertusi, in Constantine Porphyrogenetus, *De Thematibus*, p. 126).

560. See the complete text of the Chronicle in Lambros, *Historical Studies*; Bees, *On the Founding of Monemvasia*, etc.; Kyriakides, *The Slavs in the Peloponnese*; Charanis, *The Chronicle of Monemvasia*, etc.; Lemerle, *La Chronique dite de Monemvasie*, etc.

561. Kougeas, *On the so-called Chronicle*, etc.

562. In Rhallis and Potlis, V, 72.

563. Lambros, *Two Reports of the Bishop of Monemvasia*, etc. These memoranda were probably written in about the 15th Century.

564. *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Moravcsik and Jenkins.

phyrognnetus, in Chapter 49, describes the siege of Patras which was in the Peloponnesian "theme", by the Slavs. Because of the food shortage which had become acute, many of the inhabitants were prepared to surrender, but at the last moment it was decided to send some one secretly out of the city to learn whether in fact the strategos of the "theme" was on his way to save Patras. The messenger was instructed, that on his return to a certain vantage point visible to the besieged inhabitants, he should dip his banner in the event that the strategos and his army were on the way. The special messenger who had discovered that the strategos was not coming immediately, held the banner erect to indicate the fact, but when he arrived at the prearranged spot, his horse stumbled and the standard consequently dipped. Then believing that help was near, and with the able assistance of St. Andrew, the people launched an attack from the walls against the Slavs and defeated them. The "barbarians" fled in panic and took refuge in the church of St. Andrew. The strategos informed the Emperor Nicephorus of the Slavic attacks in Achaea and of their defeat. The Emperor then ordered that all the booty and war trophies be dedicated to the "Saint" and gave gifts to all those who had made the attack, "... to all their families and relations ... to the church of the Apostle ..." He elevated the church of Patras to a Metropolitan see. Ever since, "the accursed Sclavenians nurture ...".

II. In the same book (Chapter 32), Constantine Porphyrogenetus informs us that the Serbs who had been settled by Heraclius in Serbia, departed and when they reached the Danube they requested from Heraclius through the strategos who had his garrison headquarters at Belgrade, that they be given other lands to settle. From this we can conclude that the region up to the Danube was still under Byzantine control.

III. The same Constantine in another work, "On the Themes",⁵⁶⁵ in describing the theme of the Peloponnese, records along with other information that in the reign of Constantine V (741-775), the entire region became "Slavicized" when the "deathly plague had swept the entire world".

565. De Thematibus, ed. Pertusi.

IV. In the "Itinerary" of Saint Wilibald, the author reports that he had visited Monemvasia "in Sclavinia terra".⁵⁶⁶

V. There is a paragraph in an epitome of Strabo which dates in the 7th Century and upon which, as I have already noted, Vasiliev partly bases his theory.⁵⁶⁷

VI. Isidore, Bishop of Seville,⁵⁶⁸ writes that in the 5th year of the reign of Heraclius (A.D. 614-615), the "Slaves" occupied Greece while the Persians were overrunning Syria, Egypt and many other provinces.

Such are the primary sources upon which are based the various theories of scholars and historians who deal with the period. In addition to these sources, some have attempted to base their views on the lack or the rarity of coins found in Greece that were issued by the different emperors who reigned in the 7th and 8th Centuries.

3

Using as his primary sources the Chronicle of Monemvasia, the letter of the Patriarch Nicholas and several other texts (Isidore of Seville, St. Wilibald, and so on), Fallmerayer⁵⁶⁹ maintained in the early part of the 19th Century that the whole of Greece as far as Crete had been occupied by the Slavs and that the Greek race had totally disappeared. Not a single drop of Greek blood, he adds, flowed in the veins of those fighters of the War of Independence in 1821. His theory was rejected by most scholars who have dealt with the subject.

It has been argued⁵⁷⁰ on the basis of the letter of the Patriarch Nicholas that the Slavs were absolute masters of the Peloponnese for 218 years. The Greeks still inhabited the coastal areas of the Aegean.

566. In the M.G.H.S.S., XV, I, 93. But this conflicts with the Chronicle of Monemvasia which states that the entire countryside round Monemvasia was settled by farmers and shepherds from Sparta.

567. See fn. 540.

568. Isidore of Spain, in Migne, P.L., Vol. 83, p. 1056.

569. Fallmerayer, Ph., *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters*, 2 VV., Stuttgart, 1830-1836.

570. Niederle, Manuel, etc., I, 66.

and that in continental Greece, the Greeks still constituted the core of the population.⁵⁷¹

Another scholar⁵⁷² has maintained that the Slavs penetrated the Peloponnese and began a systematic occupation from as early as 578. The province of Greece was deemed lost for all practical purposes to the Empire in the reign of Heraclius. The Slavs were independent and for a period of 218 years (always on the basis of the famous letter of Nicholas) they refused entry into Greece of any "Greek". But life in Athens, for example, continued to exist normally as before. Until Irene's assumption of the throne (A.D. 797-802), the Slavic element was dominant. In subsequent studies, Dvornik appears to abandon his original theory.⁵⁷³

The view has been expressed⁵⁷⁴ that the occupation of the Peloponnese by the Slavs which had begun in the 7th Century, continued into the 8th when Dyrrachium and Athens were occupied. Then the Peloponnese had become almost completely Slavic.

Analysing carefully the Chronicle of Monemvasia in conjunction with other historical documents, Lemerle proposed that the Chronicle is indeed a serious text and that in fact the Slavs had settled in the Peloponnese in the 7th and 8th Centuries. He does not believe for a moment that the chronology given by the Chronicle and other documents is accurate, and supports the contention that hagiographical elements had penetrated and corrupted the historical text.⁵⁷⁵ To him it appears to be very odd that whereas the Byzantines who were always interested in and referred to the Slavs when they accompanied the Avar invaders, should all of a sudden cease to mention them for years. This probably indicates that the Slavs themselves had not created any problems of law and order except perhaps of a local nature.

One of the most significant works on the complicated problem is that written by Vasmer.⁵⁷⁶ He examines in great detail the various

571. Niederle, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

572. Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance, etc.*, pp. 15, 16 & 43 f.

573. Dvornik, *The Slavs, etc.*, pp. 116 f., and *Les Légendes de Constantin, etc.*, pp. 4 f.

574. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin*, Vol. I, and *The Slavs in Greece*.

575. Lemerle, *La Chronique dite de Monemvasie, etc.*

576. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland*.

place-names of Greece and concludes that on the basis of the statistical evidence, Eastern Greece had suffered less than the Western part of the country.⁵⁷⁷ According to Vasmer, the word "esthlavothi" (became Slavic) as used by Constantine Porphyrogenetus does not indicate the disappearance of the indigenous population, but a settlement of many Slavs amongst it.

In various studies that he had made,⁵⁷⁸ Charanis maintains that despite the numerous detailed studies on the subject, the conditions leading to the settlement of the Slavs and the precise dates still present great difficulty. According to him, the Slavs began to establish themselves in Southern Greece from the end of the 6th Century when they penetrated Locris, Boeotia, Attica, and the Argolid. He believes that Corinth also fell to them at that time. The newcomers destroyed a part of the Greek population and forced another part to emigrate. In his most recent studies, Charanis argues that no one can positively prove that the entire Greek population of the Western Peloponnese was exterminated. Objects have been uncovered at Pylos belonging to the 7th Century, providing evidence that in this area at least the Greek inhabitants survived the Slavic incursions. The Slavs as a rule settled in mountainous areas far from the sea. Compact enclaves existed in the rugged regions of Trikkala, Epirus, Achaea, Elis, and Arcadia, as well as on the slopes of Taygetus. The Eastern part of Greece was soon free of these invaders since the Byzantine fleet controlled the Eastern seaboard of the country. Charanis had initially accepted the chronology of the chronicles, but subsequently began to doubt its authenticity and maintained that soon the Slavonic influence began to disappear, moreover, that Patras probably had not been occupied by the Slavs. In a more recent study he concludes that the Slavonic tribes certainly had settled in Greece but their strength in

577. Vasmer records that in Epirus (Janina, Preveza and Arta) there were 412 place-names of Slavic origin, in Aetolia and Acarnania 98, in the Peloponnese 430 of which 24 in Corinth, 18 in the Argolid, 95 in Achaea, 35 in Elis, 44 in Triphylia, 94 in Arcadia, 43 in Messenia, and 81 in Laconia. Both Zakythinos (*The Slavs in Greece*) and Georgakas (*Beitrag zur Deutung usw.*) doubt the accuracy of the statistical study as well as the Slavic origin of quite a number of names.

578. Charanis, *Nicephorus I, the Savior of Greece, etc.*, *On the Question of the Slavonic Settlement, etc.*, *The Chronicle of Monemvasia, etc.*, *On the Slavonic Settlement, etc.*, *The Significance of Coins, etc.*, *Ethnic Changes, etc.*, *Observations on the History of Greece, etc.*

numbers is unknown although the sources convey the impression that they were very numerous. The striking fact is that the newcomers eventually lost their identity and became Greeks. This was the result of being surrounded by a more cultivated and dynamic race.

Bon⁵⁷⁹ who has made a special study of the penetration and settlement of the Slavonic tribes in the Peloponnese, writes that on the basis of the extant sources, the Slavs invaded the Peloponnese in the 7th Century and came in larger numbers in the following century. It is certainly true that the Chronicle of Monemvasia greatly exaggerated the events, although in the course of the 8th Century the Peloponnese was more or less isolated from and had little contact with Byzantium. Moreover, that the penetration was not of a military nature, as in the case of the Avars and Bulgars, for which reason there is no reference made by the chronicles of the period (?). Confronted by these solid masses of aliens, the terrified Greek population turned to flight. Others fled to the cities and towns where they could put up a resistance, others took to the mountains, and yet others abandoned the Peloponnese for lands further away.

Jenkins had at first⁵⁸⁰ supported the views of Kyriakides concerning the reliability of both the Chronicle of Monemvasia and the letter of the Patriarch Nicholas. But later he returned to the theories of Fallmerayer⁵⁸¹ and argued that for a period of from 50 to 200 years the Byzantines had absolutely no contact with the Greek peninsula or any control of it. Also, there were not even the slenderest traces of Byzantine administration, and subsequently, the inhabitants of Greece were in fact "hellenized Slavs". Moreover, that in continental Greece only the garrisons of walled towns were maintained whereas the remaining country was "Sclavinia Terra".⁵⁸²

579. Bon, *Le Peloponnèse Byzantin*, etc., and *Le Problème slave*, etc.

580. Constantine Porphyrogennetus, *De Adm. Imp.*, Vol. II (Commentary), pp. 185 f.

581. Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries*, pp. 13 f.

582. To strengthen his argument, Jenkins refers (fn. 4, p. 14) to: 1) Bury (II, 117-120) who speaks however of the invaders of Thrace and the northern Balkan peninsula, not of the Southern Balkans and the Peloponnese, 2) Ostrogorsky (German ed., pp. 68-70, English ed., pp. 74-76) but who again speaks generally of the Northern Balkans, and 3) Vasiliev (English ed., pp. 176 and 179) whose views I have already touched upon. I do not believe that these references provide solid enough grounds to support the odd theories of Jenkins.

Obolensky also supports the tone of Jenkins maintaining that between 650 and 750 the Balkan peninsula had been occupied by the Slavs, and that the Greek population had either fled to the coastal areas or had become subject to the Slavs. Moreover, that the greater part of Greece and the entire Peloponnese had fallen out of the control of Byzantium and had been lost to Christendom.⁵⁸³

In a more recent work,⁵⁸⁴ he repeats the same arguments and maintains that above the 40th parallel (which passes south of Olympus) and northwards, the Balkans had been occupied by the Slavs, and that the areas of lower Thessaly and the Western end of the Peloponnese were heavily populated by Slavonic tribes. Moreover, that Athens, Corinth and Patras and other coastal towns had remained in Byzantine hands and in the rugged (!) and precipitous coasts of the Peloponnese the Greek element was still dominant.

Kyriakides made a special study of the subject⁵⁸⁵ of the penetration of the Slavonic tribes into Greece and specially in the Peloponnese. After sifting at length the sources and examining the arguments of Charanis, he reached his own conclusions. The Chronicle of Monemvasia is unreliable as a source. The entire matter was really a 'creation of the bishops of Patras to further their ambitions of elevating the bishopric to a Metropolitan see. There was initially some tale or story dealing with the invasion of the Avars, but because each bishop, in order to ensure or safeguard his rights as a Metropolitan was compelled to return to the original tale, the narrative underwent continual modifications through the centuries. The reputed desolation and conquest of the Peloponnese for 218 years is nothing more nor less than a myth. According to Kyriakides, nomadic Slavic clans⁵⁸⁶ moved through the countryside in peaceful fashion and infiltrated the Peloponnese, specially in the 8th Century, establishing themselves in mountainous areas. Of necessity,

583. Obolensky, *The Empire and Its Northern Neighbours*, and *L'Eglise Byzantine*.

584. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*.

585. Kyriakides, *The Slavs in the Peloponnese*.

586. As I have repeatedly pointed out elsewhere, in previous volumes, the clan was the sum of those members descended from a single forebear. It is in other words a primitive social organization of which the members claiming the same forefather constitute a social group. This group is in the nature of a socially organized whole.

they cultivated relationships with the local population and many of their number worked on the farms and estates. The plains containing the estates which were as a rule military holdings⁵⁸⁷ remained nearly always in the possession of the Greeks. The settlers were subject to the local administration, but it would appear that because of undue coercion, or heavy taxation, or to their untamed nature, they would rebel against the authority. Such rebellions not only on the part of the Slavs but of the Greeks themselves were commonplace throughout the history of Byzantium, due especially to excessive taxation. But with time, the Slavs became Christians, and through the church as well as the army into which they were inducted, they were absorbed into the local population without having left any significant traces except in some place-names, and these for the most part in mountainous regions.

On the other hand, Amantos⁵⁸⁸ states that the gradual penetration of the Slavonic tribes south of the Danube began in the 7th Century. They settled in the Peloponnese in the 8th Century and were sheep-herders for the most part. It is on this account that there do not exist any reliable sources and nowhere is any mention made of the mass settlement of Slavs, for with the exception of certain place-names, no traces of these people have survived in the area. In writing of the letter of the Patriarch Nicholas according to which the Avars were in possession of the Peloponnese for 218 years, Amantos poses the reasonable question whether it is in fact plausible that alien conquerors who had dominated the region for 218 years could possibly disappear overnight. He goes on to add that the Slavs who had entered Greece moved generally in the mountainous areas and in the narrow valleys, and this accounts for most of the place-names of Slavonic origin being found in the rugged terrain of the country. They settled permanently only in deserted or depopulated areas.

Zakythinos⁵⁸⁹ has also dealt with the Slavic penetration of the Peloponnese. After carefully examining the evidence, especially the Chronicle of Monemvasia, he concludes that all these ecclesiastical sources spring from a common origin which he calls symbolically the

587. See Vol. I, Chapt. XIX.

588. Amantos, *Slavs and Slavophones, etc., The Slavs in Greece, etc., and Some Observations on Medieval Geography*.

589. Zakythinos, *The Slavs in Greece*, pp. 36 f.

"Peloponnesian tradition". In dealing with the text of Constantine Porphyrogenetus concerning the Slavic beleaguerment of Patras,⁵⁹⁰ he points out that Constantine himself admits that the episode was of a traditional nature when he writes, "this is what the elders and the more ancient sources had reported by word of mouth ..." He moreover considers the 218 years of the Peloponnesian occupation as devoid of any historical merit and believes that the descent of the Slavonic tribes into the Peloponnese took place after the destructive plague of 746 when the Slavic settlers to the North took advantage of the ensuing decimation of the local population. Some time later, the Slavs rebelled, and to break out into rebellion would indicate not only that a Byzantine administration still existed, and to the contrary, that the Slavs had been subject to it. They were finally subdued following two expeditions against them in the reign of Irene and Nicephorus I.

Chrysanthopoulos⁵⁹¹ maintains that most probably there existed isolated pockets of Slavic settlements from as early as the first quarter of the 7th Century. Both the invasions and the colonization left no marks or traces and on this account are not mentioned by the chroniclers. It is only during the reign of Heraclius that one could speak of a systematic colonization which became even more intensive in the course of the 8th Century at which time they moved into the Peloponnese. Their presence in large numbers is noted only from the middle of the 8th Century. But the Greek population did not disappear. On the contrary, thanks to its absorbent qualities, all foreign elements were soon assimilated.

The present history had already gone to press when the study of J. Karayianopoulos concerning the establishment of the Slavs in the Peloponnese⁵⁹² appeared, hence I was unable to cite his conclusions.

In these few pages I have attempted to give a brief survey of the thoughts and views of certain scholars on this important subject. There are indeed many more historians both Greek and otherwise who have dealt with the same problem. But the recording of other theories would unduly burden the entire narrative without finally shedding any new light on the matter.

590. Constantine Porphyrogenetus, *De Adm. Imp.*, Chapt. 49.

591. Chrysanthopoulos, *The Books of Miracles, etc.*, and *The Slavic Invasions*.

592. In the *Revue des Etudes du Sud-Est Européen*, Vol IX, 1971.

Since the sources and particularly the Chronicles have been thoroughly studied by scholars, I believe it superfluous to dwell on these myself, but I would wish to record certain of my interpretations and doubts, and to expand a bit on why I am forced to disagree with the opinions of such learned historians regarding certain facets of this important phase of history.

I will not return to the subject of the controversial Chronicle of Monemvasia, which although speaking of an invasion and conquest of Southern Greece, by the Avars, suddenly and for no apparent reason and explanation refers to these invaders and colonizers as the Slavs.⁵⁹³

The last possible date for an Avar invasion of Southern Greece was A.D. 626 when in conjunction with the Slavs they entered Byzantine territory with the intent of conquest. Yet they did not then advance further south than Thessaloniki. Moreover, following their repulse before the walls of Constantinople, they retreated with the imperial troops hot on their heels, and the Avars soon disappeared from the scene of Balkan history.⁵⁹⁴ It is a fact that some invasions occurred in the reigns of Phocas and Heraclius, but the object of these was primarily the northernmost and central Balkan peninsula. A larger invasion that could have reached as far as the Peloponnese was reputed to have taken place in A.D. 586-587 when, as some maintain, Corinth was captured.⁵⁹⁵ At all

593. In his letter supporting the rights of the Metropolitan of Patras, the Patriarch Nicholas speaks only of the Avars, ignoring the Slavs completely. Also, the Archbishop of Kiev who wrote letters supporting the rights of the Monemvasia archbishopric, maintained that the Peloponnese was occupied by the "Scythians". It would appear therefore that the various religious leaders, despite their wide learning, had not found other invaders than the Avars or the Bulgars (the Scythians) with which to support their arguments, hence the confusion of marauders with conquerors and ... Slavs.

594. See Vol. I, Chapt. XIV.

595. The Chronicle of Monemvasia dates the complete occupation of the Peloponnese in the year A.M. 6096 (A.D. 587-588), the 6th year of Maurice (587-588). Hence the invasion of Southern Greece must have taken place in 586-587. Charanis accepts such a dating (On the Slavic Settlement, etc.). See also Chrysanthopoulos, op. cit., p. 31. Charanis also uses Michael the Syrian to support his contention for the fall of Corinth. But as Chrysanthopoulos writes, irrespective of the fact that such an event is not confirmed by any other source, Michael himself states that it was a plain and simple invasion. Setton insists that Corinth was not then captured by the Avars. Bon also accepts this view.

events, from 591 onwards, once Maurice had transferred his army from Asia, countermeasures against the Avars began. Maurice succeeded in pushing them out of the Balkans and carrying the war into the Avar Empire itself. Between 598 and 600⁵⁹⁶ the Byzantines were successful in imposing a peace with the Istros (Danube) River once again becoming the northern limit of the Empire.⁵⁹⁷ One would naturally expect that the Byzantines at that time cleared the Balkan peninsula of all undesirable elements and tolerated, if indeed they did tolerate, only peaceful migrations and settlers in deserted areas.⁵⁹⁸ The Empire was not all that concerned with the racial composition of its population, and in fact practiced the policy of enforced settlements of various peoples from one region to another, or permitted the pacific colonization of certain areas. Such measures ensured a greater density of population and provided for the cultivation of desolate and underpopulated provinces. The very same could be said for the Slavic tribes. One theory⁵⁹⁹ suggests that the Slavs penetrated Southern Greece beginning in the 6th Century. This suggestion which is not accepted today, does not clarify the matter any, for it does not answer the question whether the Slavs came on the scene as invaders or as colonizers of the country. As invaders they may well have followed the Avars or the Bulgars (Outigurs, Kutigurs, and so on) as far as the Peloponnese. All invaders would have naturally withdrawn after⁶⁰⁰ the peace of 589-500, and therefore only as isolated

596. The precise dating of the signing of the peace treaty is doubted. See Nystazopoulou-Pelekides, *Dating of the Avar and Slavic Invasions*, in *Miscellaneous Studies of the National Foundation for Research*, Vol. II, 1971.

597. Theophylactus Simocatta, ed. de Boor, p. 273; Theophanes, p. 280

598. See Vol. I. p. 33. Charanis writes (*Ethnic Changes*, etc.) there is no indication in the sources that the Slavic tribes that penetrated imperial territory before 600 were compelled to recross the Danube after the peace treaty, or that they had done this at their own initiative. But I am obliged to remind Charanis that nor is there any evidence in the sources of their settlement in Byzantine lands. The sources speak continually of incursions for plunder and loot only, and usually refer only to the Avars. It naturally follows that since there is no mention of colonization by the Slavs, neither can there be any reference to their compulsory or voluntary withdrawal.

599. Vasiliev (*The Slavs in Greece*, etc.), Niederle and those scholars who support them.

600. See also fn. 598.

groups or tribes that had settled in distant desolate areas could they have possibly been allowed to remain. In the reign of Heraclius, the Slavic colonies were sparse south of the Balkan range.⁶⁰¹ South of Thessaloniki these colonies give the impression of being small enclaves scattered among a solid Greek population.⁶⁰² In fact, there exists absolutely no information concerning the establishment of Slavic tribes in Southern Greece, nor any single source. The *Miracula* of St. Demetrius mentions invasions and looting of the countryside as far as Crete itself. The *Miracula* record the names of certain Slavic tribes that appear to have dwelt in Macedonia and round the Strymon River, but without explaining either how or when they had settled in these areas. In most instances, the tribes are described as subjects of Byzantium. After 626, the Empire recovered the entire Balkan peninsula and re-established itself with strong forces under a strategos on the Danube River.⁶⁰³

After the recovery of the heart of the Balkans, it is natural and certainly most reasonable to assume that the Byzantines either cleared the region of any hostile tribes or subjected them to the control of the imperial administration. It should be noted that the Arab menace had not yet materialized, and the Byzantines had free reign to clear their provinces of such enemies or undesirable elements and to restore tranquility in these areas.

The first really serious source is that of Constantine Porphyrogenetus who records, in describing the Peloponnesian theme,⁶⁰⁴ that in the reign of Constantine V (A.D. 741-775), "the entire country was Slavicized and became barbarian ...". Certainly one could argue that there exists also as a source the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* with its notorious 218 years which it cites and which beginning in A.D. 586-587 would end in about 804-805. But the *Chronicle* speaks of the Avars and describes them as conquerors. We can therefore conclude from this, ignoring for the moment the contradictions contained therein and the tendency of certain authors to support their religious prerogatives, that the *Chronicle*

601. Dvornik, *The Slavs*, etc., p. 116.

602. Zakythinos, *The Slavs*, etc., p. 33.

603. Constantine Porphyrogenetus, *De Adm. Imp.*, Chapt. 32, 19-20.

604. *De Them.*, II, 6; Bon, *Le Péloponnèse*, etc., pp. 36 f.

cannot be treated as a reliable source when dealing with the colonization of Southern Greece by the Slavs to whom at all events it makes no reference as to the date of arrival and when they settled in the country.⁶⁰⁵

Another problem arises with Corinth, whether it was captured and when it fell. Absolutely no source⁶⁰⁶ records such an occurrence except for a statement made by the Bishop of Monemvasia. He writes that the Onogurs (the Bulgarian tribe of Onogundurs) captured Corinth without giving battle in the reign of Justinian.⁶⁰⁷ Ignoring for the moment the confusion and the numerous historical inaccuracies contained in the venerable Bishops's narrative, I am obliged again to point out that nowhere is there any mention made of a conquest of Corinth by the Slavs. It may well be that it was plundered in the course of the Avar-Slavic

605. In his monograph, "The Chronicle of Monemvasia, etc.", Charanis maintains that no one can possibly deny that the Slavs had infiltrated the Peloponnese in the reign of Maurice. Charanis relies basically on Isidore, Bishop of Seville (Migne, P.L., Vol. 83) who wrote that the Slavs seized Greece from the Romans, etc., and on the Chronicle of Monemvasia. Concerning the latter source, I have already given my views, but as for Isidore, who wrote in distant Spain, the term "Greece" was such a vague and undefined geographical area (much has been written on the subject), that no one can seriously rely upon his information. The same Isidore, moreover, records that in the same year, 615, the Persians seized Egypt from the Romans. The attack against Egypt began in 616-617, and its occupation was completed in about 620.

606. Charanis (On the Capture, etc.) believes that Corinth was occupied in the reign of Maurice as the Chronicle of Monemvasia and Michael the Syrian record. But the former states generally that the Peloponnese was seized by the Avars, and that at Corinth there existed a strategos and a Byzantine army. Michael the Syrian (II, 362, 363), after confusing Avars, Scythians and Slavs writes that at the time of Maurice the nation of Slavs took many prisoners and plunder among which was the "ciborium" of the church of Corinth, and so on. But this does not mean that Corinth was occupied. Immediately thereafter he speaks of Anchialus, Sirmium, etc., in such manner that one cannot understand which route the invaders had taken, and who in any case after their marauding expedition withdrew from all imperial territory, as Michael the Syrian explicitly records.

607. Lambros, Two Memoranda of the Bishop of Monemvasia, etc.; Kyriakides, The Slavs in the Peloponnese, pp. 64 f. The latter writes that the Onogurs had no relationship with Zaverger who had made the incursion of 558, and which invasion the Bishop had in mind. The marauders were another race of Bulgars, the Kutrigurs, but these were repulsed by the Byzantine army at Thermopylae.

invasion⁶⁰⁸ of 586-587. At all events, after 590 Corinth appears to be a free town under Byzantine control, about which more below. In two recent articles,^{608bis} Setton argued that Corinth was occupied in 641-642 by the Onogur Bulgars who had settled under Kubrat or Kuber in the plain of Monastir northwest of Thessaloniki.⁶⁰⁹ According to him, the campaign launched by Constantine III against "Sclavinia" in 657-658, about which more below, had as one of its objectives the liberation of Corinth. This theory which is based on the evidence of Avar-Bulgar graves unearthed in Corinth, and other artifacts, has not been generally accepted.

Very strange indeed is the subject of the city of Patras, or rather, the Archbishopric of Patras, since in fact it is a matter involving the Metropolitan of Patras. I find it difficult to believe that the veracity of the entire incident has been accepted as an historical truth, leaving no room for doubt, by many outstanding scholars. The entire affair is mentioned 1) in the Chronicle of Monemvasia, 2) the Scholium of Arethas,⁶¹⁰ 3) by Constantine Porphyrogenetus, and 4) in the letter of the Patriarch Nicholas. The first and the fourth sources speak of the capture of Patras by the Avars, the second of the fall of the city at the hands of the people of Sclavinia, and the third relates an insurrection of the Slavs and their attack on Patras. The first two sources write that with the occupation of Patras by the barbarians, the inhabitants fled to Rhegium in Calabria, and that after the victory of the strategos of the Peloponnese, the Emperor Nicephorus, upon being informed of the whereabouts of its former population,⁶¹¹ ordered the reconstruction of

608. Finley, *Corinth in the Middle Ages*; Scranton, *Medieval Architecture*, etc.

608 bis. Kenneth Setton, *The Bulgars in the Balkans, and the Emperor Constans II*, etc.

609. See Vol. II, pp. 164-166.

610. Arethas, Bishop of Caesarea, originally came from Patras where he was born around 850 or 860. He led a turbulent life, but was a distinguished man of letters who had written many works of religious and literary content. The scholium ascribed to him dates about 932 and is found in the margin of a codex containing the Short Chronicle of the Patriarch Nicephorus. See Kougeas, *The Arethas Scholium*, and Kyriakides, *The Slavs*, etc., pp. 74 f. It should be pointed out that the numerous scholia of Arethas have not yet been systematically studied.

611. A very strange narrative indeed. Is it possible that no one at the Byzantine court would know the whereabouts of the former inhabitants of Patras for an entire 218 years?

Patras and the return of all its inhabitants with their bishop (it should be noted that Reggio was then a Metropolitan see and not a Bishopric). Moreover, that the Emperor elevated Patras to an Archbishopric. The Arethas scholium and the fourth source add that Patras was then an Archbishopric.

I will not dwell upon this odd theory according to which Patras was completely rebuilt in a short time and its former inhabitants who had for 218 years absented themselves in Calabria, where they had made new lives for themselves, abandoned their properties to be carried back to a new city which, of course, was completely unfamiliar to them. Yet the following question arises. Patras was formerly a Bishopric subject hieratically to the Metropolitan see of Corinth. The date of the elevation of Patras to an autocephalus Archbishopric is unknown.⁶¹² But this institution, as Kyriakides rightly observed, is of Eastern origin. Hence, it would not have been possible for such elevation as long as the province of Illyricum was subject to the church of Rome. Illyricum was transferred in 733 to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople, in the reign of Leo III (A.D. 717-741) when the Emperor and the Pope clashed over the issue of icons. Yet if Patras had been captured by the barbarians and its bishop lived in exile in Calabria, would it have been possible that this bishopric which most certainly was very small in view of the fact that it had no geographical extent of note nor a large population, since indeed only those who could flee went to Calabria, to be elevated to an autocephalus Archbishopric see? How can one reasonably make such an assumption? At all events, the elevation occurred in the 8th Century, and Arethas himself in the scholium explicitly refers to Patras as an Archbishopric before it was raised to a Metropolitan see. Moreover, the Archbishop of Patras attended the meetings of the Seventh Ecumenical Council in A.D. 787.⁶¹³

612. I.e., a bishopric not subject to a Metropolitan see, but directly responsible to the patriarch.

613. Konidaris, *The Metropolitans and Archbishops, etc.*; Laurent, *La date de l'érection, etc.*; Mansi, XIII, 368.

Such an elevation could be justified on the grounds of some important accomplishment or mission of great seriousness on the part of the bishop such as, for example, the conversion to Christianity of Slavic tribes that had settled in the nearby mountainous regions of Achaea or in the Northwestern Peloponnese, that is, in areas over which the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Patras extended. But this would indicate that a Byzantine town of Patras would have continued to exist as well as a bishop who was elevated to the rank of an archbishop, but who at the same time had been active in his see. Yet such an assumption would mean that the narrations concerning the conquest of Patras, on the dispersal of its citizens, and on the reconstruction of the town of Patras, would all be figments of the imagination.

Furthermore, the reference to a bishop of Patras who proceeds to Calabria, is promoted to the rank of archbishop, and two centuries later returns to Patras, is not only very odd, but difficult to believe. There existed in Calabria the primate (Metropolitan) of Reggio, to whom the bishop of Patras would of necessity be subject. It would be most natural that after his death, no other bishop would be nominated, and that the faithful would fall within the local parishes of the Metropolitan of Reggio. How then can we be expected to believe that a new bishop would be elected in Calabria. But if, in fact, such an occurrence did take place in some manner or other, would not the name of such a bishop be recorded, at least in the Latin records, since Calabria was subject to the church of Rome from A.D. 587 until 733. We find absolutely no such reference in the sources, in the records of the Latins, or in the correspondence of the popes. Could the presence of such a bishop be kept a secret for 218 years, and would there be no record whatsoever of his existence?

The third source, that is, Constantine Porphyrogenetus, is even more unusual, for it contradicts the other sources. It describes the "rebellion" of the Slavs and their attack against the town of Patras. Consequently, there must have existed either 1) vassalage, for without being a subject one could hardly rebel, and 2) a Byzantine town with a population that could resist. Yet, all sources record that the events occurred during the reign of Nicephorus I. So to accommodate their interpretation of events those who insist on a Slavic occupation of the Western Peloponnese have agreed that the victory of Sclerus against the Slavs and the rebuilding of Patras took place in A.D. 805-806, whereas

the second attack occurred between 807 and 811.⁶¹⁴ But this narrative contains many other curious elements: 1) that the Slavs received help from the Saracens of Africa. It has been contended that the Arab fleet supported this assault. Yet the question arises as to how this race or these tribes of Slavs that apparently dwelt in the heights surrounding Patras managed to come to some accord with the distant Arabs? 2) that only with the belief that the strategos of the theme was on his way to succour the city, the sorely pressed people of Patras who had suffered a long siege many of whom had even thought of surrendering the city,⁶¹⁵ suddenly opened the gates of the walls, counter-attacked the besiegers and routed them, after which the former besiegers had then taken flight and sought asylum in the church of St. Andrew, and 3) how many were these Slav besiegers who fled to the temple of the Saint? 200, 500, or 1,000? Is this the number of warriors who held the Western Peloponnese in their power for 218 years; who were defeated in one moment and could all be accommodated in one church that was of necessity very small since it was situated beyond the city walls, for the Slavs could not enter the city itself? The entire narrative, as Constantine Porphyrogenetus himself writes, is based on a tradition "received by word of mouth". Under the circumstances, can this text be deemed a reliable historical source upon which in fact the theory of the non-existence of Byzantine control in these areas is based?

Even more curious is the case of Sparta. According to the Chronicle of Monemvasia as this is supplemented by the notorious report of the Archbishop of Monemvasia, when the Slavs conquered the Peloponnese, the Laconians, among others, were dispersed. The merchants (sic) in accordance with the report of the Archbishop, proceeded to Sicily via Gytheion, and instead of Lacedaemons they are referred to as "Demenites". The notables (the addition is part of the report of the Arch-

614. Lemerle, *La Chronique dite de Monemvasie*, etc.; Charanis, *Nicephorus I*, etc., and the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*, etc.; Jenkins in *Constantine Porphyrogenetus*, *De Adm. Imp.*, Vol. II, pp. 183 f.; Charanis, *Observations on the History*, etc., wherein he argues that at the time of the Slavic rebellion, the city was not only inhabited but there existed an organized community with leaders who owned land outside the city. Obolensky (*The Byzantine Commonwealth*) believes that Patras had not been occupied by the Slavs.

615. *Constantine Porphyrogenetus*, *De Adm. Imp.*, p. 228, "after considerable time".

bishop) founded the town of Monemvasia where they dwelt "with their own bishop". The peasants and shepherds fled to the nearby mountains (I presume those roundabout Monemvasia) "which even to this day are known as Tsakonian". For the question of Lacones and Tzakones, see Note XIV.

To judge by the above texts, Sparta was abandoned. Further on, the Chronicle relates that after the liberation of the Western part of the Peloponnese, the Emperor Nicephorus built from the very foundation a new "city of Lacedaemon" wherein he settled a mixed population of "Kafirs, and Thracians, and Armenians, etc.", restored the bishopric, but subjected it to the Metropolitan of Patras.

. Then the question immediately arises: what became of the former bishop of Lacedaemon who, according to the same Chronicle, had fled to Monemvasia. It should be pointed out that the bishop of Lacedaemon cannot become the bishop of Monemvasia. The latter existed in the 8th Century, although when the bishopric was established is unknown. On the other hand, we find the bishop of Lacedaemon attending the 6th Ecumenical Council in A.D. 681, that is, about 100 years after the reputed dispersal of the inhabitants of Sparta and the departure of the bishop to Monemvasia. This bishop had signed the records of the Council as, "Theodosius, by the Grace of God Bishop of the city of the Lacedaemons".⁶¹⁶ We can therefore safely conclude that in the 7th Century both the city and the bishop of Lacedaemon existed, for otherwise a bishop of an imaginary bishopric could not possibly have signed the minutes of each session and of the final assembly. Had he fled to Monemvasia in 587, he would then have registered as the bishop of Monemvasia. But it is odd that in the 8th Century, we find both the bishop of Lacedaemon and of Monemvasia.⁶¹⁷ The latter in fact attended the 7th Ecumenical Council (A.D. 787).

Such being the case, did Nicephorus refound and re-establish in 804 or 805, an already existing and functioning bishopric? In the light of the above, of what real value is the narrative of the Chronicle concerning Lacedaemon?

616. Mansi, X, 623 f., and 640 f.

617. Konidaris, op. cit.; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, II, 189, 190 and 218. Laurent, *Les Sceaux*, etc., p. 478, says that the Lacedaemonian bishopric remained a part of the Metropolitan see of Corinth until the beginning of the 9th Century when it was placed under the newly founded Metropolitan see of Patras.

As I have elsewhere written,⁶¹⁸ Athens had without interruption been a part of the Byzantine Empire, and in the 7th Century was a well-known intellectual centre. It is certainly a fact that Athens no longer enjoyed the reputation of former times,⁶¹⁹ yet despite the diminished population which after all reflected the diminished population of the Empire as a whole, Athens had suffered comparatively little harm throughout the ages, and was able on the whole to retain something of its classical features.⁶²⁰ The 7th Century was in fact a period of growing importance for the city. In the winter of A.D. 662-663, the Emperor Constantine III and his entire retinue which was very extensive were quartered in the city, about which more in another chapter. To accommodate the Byzantine court and the large retinue, many buildings and auxiliary services would have been required, and this is surely a good indication of the existence of a highly developed urban community.⁶²¹ That a cultivated society existed in Athens in these late centuries is borne out by the fact that the Emperor Constantine V (741-775) had selected the Athenian Irene as a bride for his son Leo IV. The Patriarch Nicephorus had written, "a bride is being brought from Greece ...", and Zonaras records, "a woman was brought from Athens".⁶²² A few years later, the sons of Constantine VI were banished to Athens by Irene, and it was in Athens that a plot was hatched against Irene.⁶²³ The city had never ceased being a bishopric. At the 6th Ecumenical Council, the bishop of Athens who was then subject to the Metropolitan see of Corinth, signed the minutes of each session, including the final, as "John, by the Grace of God Bishop of Athens and Legate of the Holy Synod of the Apostolic throne of Rome". Soon afterwards, in the 8th Century, the bishopric of Athens was elevated to a metropolitan status.

The School of Philosophy in Athens was throughout this entire century very reputable, but after the advent of Christianity, it had

618. See Volume II, p. 163.

619. Bréhier, *La Civilisation Byzantine*, p. 139.

620. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Athens*, I, 156; Dvornik, *Les Slavs*, etc., p. 16.

621. Frantz, *From Paganism*, etc.

622. Nicephorus, p. 77; Zonaras, Bk. XV, Chapt. VIII. Theophanes, p. 444, for the year 6261 (A.D. 769-770) records. "in that year Irene came from Athens". The same is repeated by Cedrenus, p. 897. See Diehl, *Figures Byzantine*, I, 77.

623. Konidaris, op. cit., p. 60; Laurent, in *R.E.B.*, I (1943), pp. 58-72.

naturally been greatly influenced by Christian thought. St. Gislene studied in A.D. 650 in, as the sources record, "the most noble of the cities of Greece which gave to the nations of every tongue the flower of eloquence".⁶²⁴ Theodore of Tarsus, who in 668 was appointed by Pope Vitalian as the first Archbishop of Canterbury,⁶²⁵ had also studied in Athens.

But to return to the famous 218 years that the Chronicle and the letter of the Patriarch Nicholas record, for which period the Peloponnese was occupied by the Slavs and no Byzantine could freely set foot there.⁶²⁶ It is true that a little later on in the text the Chronicle limits the complete occupation to the Western Peloponnese. Yet this had not hindered older scholars from widening the range of Slavonic occupation to include the entire southern part of the Balkan peninsula and specially Greece, and indeed to support the argument of the complete disappearance of the Greek race from these regions. The same theory has been reiterated and supported more recently by both Jenkins and Obolensky⁶²⁷ who, without depending either on the sources or using reasonable deductions, repeat the peculiar interpretations of older scholars. Indeed, Obolensky goes so far as to maintain that for two centuries (the 7th and 8th), nearly the entire Balkan peninsula, including a large (?) part of Macedonia, Greece and the Peloponnese, had slipped from the political control of Byzantium and was lost to Christendom!

Today certainly the 218 years is treated as a fictitious number.⁶²⁸ Amantos justifiably asks if there was in fact a foreign occupation lasting 218 years, whether it would have been possible for these alien colonists to have suddenly disappeared overnight.⁶²⁹

624. M.G.H., *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*, Bk. I, 409; Gregorovius, *op. cit.*; Schemmel, *Die Hochschule usw.*

625. *Acta Sanctorum Octobris*, Vol. IV.

626. The Patriarch Nicholas writes, "so that not a single Roman could set foot there".

627. Jenkins, *The Imperial Centuries*, p. 42; Obolensky, in *C.M.H.*, Vol. IV, New ed., 488; and in *Nouvelle Histoire de l'Eglise*, II, p. 107.

628. Lemerle, *La Chronique*, etc., "sont un compte fantaisiste". Setton, *The Bulgars*, etc., considers it ludicrous to believe in the 218 year occupation of the Peloponnese.

629. The Patriarch Nicholas records, "overnight they (i.e. the Avars, since he is unacquainted with the Slavs) disappeared ...". Amantos, *Slavs and Slavophones*, etc.

Is it possible that for these two long centuries the Southern Balkans had no intercourse with Byzantium? I have already cited Athens, Corinth, Patras, and Sparta, and I could add other towns. In 662 the Emperor traversed the country and wintered in Athens. He had remained in purely Greek-populated areas for more than six months. If these areas had been occupied by the Slavs, an Emperor who did not hesitate to advance into Armenia to save the province, surely would have moved to restore Byzantine sovereignty in these regions. He had a large army with him, and the Slavs comprised no more than scattered and unorganized tribes. He would neither be forced to give battle nor to conduct a lengthy campaign to recover the country.

Following the peace treaty between the Emperor Justinian II and the Caliph Abd al-Malik, the Mardaites (about whom more in the next volume) were transplanted to areas outside the Lebanon. Some were settled in the Mani area, and another group was sent to the area of Nicopolis near Preveza.⁶³⁰ Theophanes relates that in the 10th year of the reign of Leo III (727), "the inhabitants of Hellas" with those of the Cycladic islands rebelled against the Emperor on account of icon worship. They proclaimed as their sovereign a certain Cosmas and set sail against Constantinople, but their fleet was destroyed by the Byzantines who used Greek Fire. At the head of the "Helladic population" was the turmarch Agallianos. But "turma" is a sub-division of the "theme". It is well known that there existed at the time a Hellas theme,⁶³² and that the head of a turma took part in the insurrection. But for such a theme to exist must indicate that the area of the late province of Greece was free. It should be noted that the capital city of the province, hence of the original theme of Hellas, was Corinth. But more about the matter in another chapter and volume when I touch on the development of the new administrative system of the Empire, that is to say, the growth of the theme system. But independently of everything else, the mere fact that a revolution took place indicates that the province was a thriving area and not

630. Diomedes, *Byzantine Studies*, I, 102; Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, etc., p. 179.

631. Theophanes, p. 405.

632. The existence of the Hellas theme is confirmed among others (Theophanes, p. 368) by the Sigillography. See Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, and Dvornik, *Les Légendes de Constantine*, etc., pp. 6 f, and fn. 2.

devoid of either military or naval reserves. Justifiably, then, one may well ask how a province that had been ruined and was under alien control could rise in rebellion.

In the third year of Constantine VI (A.D. 783), Stauracius was ordered by Irene to march against the Sclavinian nation which he subdued, taking many prisoners. He also entered the Peloponnese. The following year he returned in triumph to the hippodrome of Constantinople. If indeed, the entire country had become Slavicized, would it have been so quickly and readily subdued? ⁶³³

Constantine Porphyrogenetus⁶³⁴ records that the entire country "was Slavicized ... and became barbarian ..." and that in the reign of Constantine V a "deathly plague ..." swept through Greece. As Theophanes informs us, the plague did in fact spread to Greece in A.D. 746-747, having been carried from distant Calabria to the Peloponnese through Monemvasia. The pestilence caused much loss of life, especially in Constantinople, and to restore the depleted population of the capital, the Emperor Constantine V brought many inhabitants from Greece and "its southern parts", meaning the Peloponnese.⁶³⁵ But to bring people from Greece and the Peloponnese to fill the population gap, would surely presuppose firstly, that a Greek population existed in these territories, and secondly, that there existed close ties between the capital, Greece and the Peloponnese in the 8th Century.

Yet the links and the intercourse between Constantinople and Greece throughout the famous 218 years can be ascertained by the organization and the activities of the church.

633. Amantos, Slavs and Slavophones, etc. In his fine study, *La Chronique dite de Monemvasie*, Lemerle maintains that by the expression "and he entered the Peloponnese", Theophanes indicates that he did not subdue the Slavic tribes settled therein. Irrespective of the fact that Theophanes nowhere writes about the settlement of the Slavs in the Peloponnese, I believe the expression, "and he captured many prisoners and brought much booty ..." refers to the general campaign and not to the Peloponnese specially. For if we are to accept Lemerle's interpretation, then if indeed Stauracius did not subdue the Slavs of the Peloponnese, from where did he capture much booty and many prisoners?

634. *De Them.*, p. 91.

635. Theophanes, pp. 422, 423, & 429. Lemerle, *La Chronique*, etc., erroneously maintains in fn. 38 that the Emperor Nicephorus I (802-811) had moved the population to the Peloponnese. *Bon, op. cit.*, p. 42.

As I have written in Volume II (p. 162), there exist letters of Pope Gregory addressed to the Archbishops of Corinth in which no hint is made of any Slavic occupation of Greece and the Peloponnese. There exists not even the slightest evidence of any such serious upheavals or disturbances. There is, for example, Gregory's letter dated in February 591 informing the Metropolitan Anastasius of his election and enthronement as the Pope of Rome. In another letter of May 593 Gregory introduces his legate who had a quarrel with the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki.⁶³⁶ Subsequently, because the Metropolitan of Corinth had been accused of simony, Gregory removed Anastasius and replaced him with John to whom he had sent the pallium (vestment of archbishop conferred by the Pope). He designated the Bishop John as the "Ecumenical Bishop of the province of Greece".⁶³⁷ This correspondence is dated A.D. 595. There is yet a further letter of May 599 addressed to the Metropolitans of Thessaloniki, Corinth, Dyrrachium, Nicopolis, Crete, Larissa, and so on, in which again no reference or hint is made of an invasion or conquest of the country by barbarians. If, therefore, the contentions of Jenkins, Obolensky and others are factual, could the Pope have continued corresponding with his bishops without any hindrance whatsoever? Would he not have made some complaint or expressed some concern with the situation in the Southern Balkans which fell within his ecclesiastical jurisdiction?

Pope Honorius in 625 corresponded with the bishops of Old and New Epirus wherein it is evident that Epirus at the time was still under Byzantine control.⁶³⁸

The following hierarchs attended the 6th Ecumenical Council in Constantinople and signed the records: 1) Stephen, "by the Grace of God Bishop of Corinth, the Metropolitan city of the land of the Greeks on my behalf and on behalf of my synod ..." ⁶³⁹ Stephen attended the Council as legate of the apostolic throne of Rome together with John, Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, and Basil, Bishop of Gortyna, Crete, all

636. Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Regesta*, etc., I, Nos. 1095, 1243; Scranton, *Medieval Architecture*, etc.; Chrysanthopoulos, *The Miracula*, etc., p. 35.

637. Jaffé-Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1373, 1378, 1379; Setton, *The Emperor Constans*, etc.

638. Jaffé-Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, No. 2010.

639. Mansi, X, 669-689.

three representing Rome. 2) John, Bishop of Athens and the first Bishop of the Metropolitan of Corinth, as legate (representative) of the Roman synod. 3) John, Bishop of Argos 4) Theodosius, Bishop of the city of the Lacedaemons. The presence of so many religious leaders in 680 cannot but be proof of the baselessness of a barbarian occupation and the lack of ties between Byzantium and these areas in the 7th Century. It has been indeed argued that though, for example, there was a Metropolitan of Corinth, this would not necessarily signify that he actually dwelt in his see.⁶⁴⁰ Yet, independently of the fact that in principle only those bishops whose sees were actually within the realm of the Empire would be registered at the Ecumenical Councils, would not the Pope, upon noting the signatures of so many hierarchs who fell within his ecclesiastical jurisdiction but who did not actually reside in their sees, lodge some kind of protest?

The Patriarch of Constantinople sent the Metropolitan of Corinth to Rome together with other Metropolitans to attend the trial of Gregory, Bishop of Agrigentum (Sicily).⁶⁴¹

In 733, the Emperor Leo III removed the entire province of Illyricum from the jurisdiction of the Pope and placed it under the Patriarch of Constantinople. If, indeed, this province had been under barbarian control, for what end was this transfer made, what would the Pope have lost, and what the Patriarch gained?

There exists the so-called "Tacticon" (order of ecclesiastical offices) of the Parisian Codex of the 8th Century which lists the churches of Illyricum soon after the transfer to the patriarchate.⁶⁴² In this "Notitia Episcopatum" are recorded the metropolitans and bishoprics actually under the jurisdiction of Byzantium.

In the Ecumenical Council in Troullo, the Metropolitans of both Corinth and Dyrrachium were present.⁶⁴³ In the 7th Ecumenical Council (787), attending were the Metropolitans of Old Epirus (Nicopolis), New

640. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse*, etc., 103.

641. Migne, P.G., Vol. 116, p. 252.

642. Konidaris, *op. cit.*, The authenticity of this "Tacticon" is, however, doubted. Supporting its reliability are Gerland, de Boor, Gelzer, Bées, Konidaris, and others. Against this view are Duchèsne, Laurent, and Bon, among others. See also Zakythinos, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 f.

643. Mansi, Xi, 988 f.

Epirus (Dyrrachium), Larissa, the Bishop of the Autocephalus see of Patras, the Bishops of Monemvasia, Troezen, Messene, Chalkis, Tripolis, and others.⁶⁴⁴

With the establishment of the Metropolitan of Patras, the Chronicle of Monemvasia records that the bishoprics of Methone and Corone were placed in its jurisdiction. But for them to be subject to this jurisdiction would indicate in fact that they existed. Methone was an ancient town and its bishop was from the very beginning subject to the Metropolitan of Corinth. Corone is cited as a town by Hierocles, although the bishopric was established later.⁶⁴⁵ It, too, was initially under the Metropolitan of Corinth.

Hence, the ecclesiastical organization of the southern Balkans and the Peloponnese proves that Byzantine control over these provinces did exist, and any argument to the contrary is beyond the realm of reality.

For this entire period of the supposed lack of imperial control, there exist seals which are added proof of the existence in the region of religious and political leaders. Various seals of the Metropolitan of Corinth dating in the 7th and 8th Centuries have been found, in addition to seals of the Metropolitan of Nicopolis (Old Epirus), bishops of Athens, and others.⁶⁴⁶

Seals of judges of the Hellas Theme and of Greek strategoi, protospatharioi, and others, of the 7th and 8th Centuries, have been uncovered.⁶⁴⁷ Also those of various *commerciarii*.⁶⁴⁸ One seal was found which had on the one side heads of Justinian II and of his son Tiberius,

644. Migne, P.G., 116, 252; Mansi, Vols. XII and XIII.

645. Laurent, *Les sceaux*, etc., p. 483. He argues that the Bishopric was established between A.D. 600 and 800. If in fact it was founded in this period, it would indicate that at least one part of the Western Peloponnese was under Byzantine control and there existed ties between this part and Constantinople.

646. Laurent, *op. cit.*, Nos. 533, 554, 555, 585, 586, 587, 588, 670, 671, etc.

647. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, etc., pp. 81 f.; Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin*, p. 6. The latter writes that the sigillography enables us with certainty to maintain that already in the early part of the 8th Century, there existed the theme of Hellas.

648. These are the agents responsible for the collection of customs dues and taxes. Since the circulation of coins was then limited, the peasants paid their taxes in kind. Depots were therefore required to collect the produce, to store it, sell it, or to have it shipped to the capital. *Commercii* signifies basically customs.

and on the reverse the legend, "the royal commercii of Hellas". Yet another contained the image of Constantine III with the engraving "general commerciarus of the Hellas depot".⁶⁴⁹ It should be remembered that the province of Hellas included the whole of Central Greece and the Peloponnese with Corinth as the administrative centre.

As I have pointed out in Volume II,⁶⁵⁰ many historians have given a false picture of the situation in this part of the world, basing their theories on the lack of coins uncovered in certain towns or areas. But I again repeat that the existence or the lack of hoards of coins and treasures in towns or districts does not imply that these areas had been occupied by foreign invaders. Excavations and detailed studies of the sites have been far from thorough and complete, and one certainly cannot argue that the tendency to hoard treasures was a general practice. The rarity of coins can be accounted for on other grounds. Most of the coinage uncovered to date has been copper or silver. Beginning with the reign of Constantine III and for many centuries thereafter the minting of bronze coins was very limited whereas that of gold coins increased.⁶⁵¹ Yet the circulation of coinage was restricted due to the general depression of the economy and to the difficulties that arose in the transportation and exchange of merchandise.⁶⁵²

There is no doubt that because of constant incursions and raids, and of military campaigns, the cities and towns began to suffer a certain decline both in population and generally in trade activities.⁶⁵³ The economy of the Empire was as a result at a low ebb and it was further aggravated after 670 by the perpetual threat of the Arab fleets which began to assume serious proportions. This danger which made communications more risky and hindered the natural flow of goods inevitably led to the dampening of trade activities and to a general depression of the economy.⁶⁵⁴ It therefore follows that one cannot

649. Mordtmann, *Plombs byzantines de la Grèce et du Péloponnèse*.

650. Pp. 162-163.

651. Frances, *La Ville Byzantine*, etc.

652. H. Antoniadès-Bibicou, *Recherches sur les Douanes à Byzance*, Paris, 1963, pp. 254 f.

653. Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine cities*, etc.; Scranton, *Medieval Architecture*, etc.

654. Charanis, *The Significance of Coins*, etc., and *On the Slavic Settlement*, etc.; Pallas, *The Archaeological Evidence*, etc.

interpret the lack of coins in the southern Balkans and the Peloponnese as a proof for the alien occupation of the region. It is a very hazardous if not completely false assumption to make.

5

I fear perhaps that my thoughts and queries as set out in the previous paragraph have forced me to stray somewhat from the subject at hand. Yet, it is on the basis of these thoughts that I must relate the entire problem.

In the course of the 6th Century, masses of Avars, Bulgars and Slavs undertook endless incursions and raids into the Balkan peninsula and plundered the region. A permanent settlement was not made except in the northwestern area where, because of the general desolation brought about by these marauders, certain Slavic tribes took up permanent abode. With the Byzantine-Avar treaty of A.D. 598-600, when the Danube was established as the northern frontier, all those peoples who had occupied imperial territories or who did not recognize Byzantine suzerainty withdrew.⁶⁵⁵ In the reign of Phocas and the ensuing chaos, these marauding incursions understandably were resumed and were to continue into the early part of the reign of Heraclius when the latter was forced to face the immediate Persian threat and to contend with the wretched financial state of the Empire. These raids brought about the desolation of vast stretches of territory and the eventual settlement of Slavic tribes in Dalmatia, Moesia, Dacia, Dardania, the northern districts of the province of Thrace, and in certain parts of Macedonia and Thessaly.⁶⁵⁶ Heraclius was able to concentrate troops in Europe and to stop the incursions, It is a mistake to assume that there were no imperial army detachments in the Balkans at that time. Theophanes explicitly states⁶⁵⁷ that the army of Europe was transported in 620-621 to Asia after a treaty of peace was signed with the Avars.

655. See fn. 598.

656. Dvornik, *Les Slavs, etc.*, and *The Slavs, etc.*, p. 42; Bréhier, in Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, Vol. V, 146.

657. Theophanes, p. 302, for the year A.M. 6112 (620), the 11th of Heraclius (620-621), records that, "he transferred the army of Europe into Asia ..." But for him to move the army to Asia would indicate that such an army existed.

Again the Avars and Slavonic tribes penetrated the European provinces of the Empire in 623 at which time marauding bands of Slavs reached as far as Crete. When Constantinople was besieged in 626, they repeated the raids and it was not until the Byzantine army under the command of Theodore, brother of Heraclius,⁶⁵⁸ reached Europe after the memorable defeat of the Persians under Sahin that the barbarian penetrations ceased. With the arrival of the army, the Avars and Slavs quickly retreated and a powerful force commanded by a strategos, as I have often repeated, was established on the Danube in the town of Singidunum (Belgrade)⁶⁵⁹ which had been reoccupied. It would appear therefore that most of the Balkan peninsula was in the hands of the Byzantines after 626. Following the establishment of the Croats and Serbs with the aid of the imperial army in the northwestern part of the peninsula, it would be natural to expect that no penetration could take place without the previous consent of the Byzantines. The Empire, at least until the arrival on the scene of the Arabs in 634, faced no threats either from the East or the West, and had imposed its control over the tribes which had been permitted to inhabit imperial territory. Byzantium, after all, had need of further inhabitants to replenish the sparsely populated fringes of the Empire. It certainly is not an historical truth to maintain, as some scholars do, that the inhabitants welcomed the invading barbarians with open arms to escape the heavy taxes of the Byzantines.⁶⁶⁰

The penetration of the Slavs in the 7th Century of the southern Balkans, and principally in Thessaly, Central Greece and the Peloponnese, was gradual, diffused and peaceful. Clans of families with their flocks and possessions had migrated to these areas with one purpose in mind, to find a quiet corner of the world in which to live. As I have already pointed out, all the newcomers were subject to the local

658. *Chronicon, Paschale*, ed. Bonn, Vol. I, p. 726, 7-10.

659. Constantine Porphyrogenetus, *De Adm. Imp.*, Chapt. 32, 19-20.

660. Lemerle, *La Chronique dite de Monemvasie*, etc.; Tapkova-Zaimova, *Sur les rapports entre la population indigène*, etc.

661. Kyriakides, *The Slavs in Greece*, p. 15. He observes that since it was not a military activity, nor involved the siege of a town, but a peaceful colonization, it is understandable why the sources are silent, and traditions and legends alone can preserve such events; Jirecek, *Geschichte der Serben*, I, 106, writes that no large city or town of Greece or Epirus was occupied by the Slavs.

administration which *never ceased to exist and to function throughout the 7th Century*. This was understandable and expected, for they had not come as invaders or hordes of barbarians to attack the country, but in family groups that sought out deserted areas in which to settle peacefully. It is for this reason that they usually settled in mountainous or in unpopulated areas. Absolutely no town had been occupied on account of which there is no record of such an instance in the sources.⁶⁶¹ The Hellas Theme which included the whole of the former province of Greece with the capital at Corinth⁶⁶² was established in the 7th Century. I repeat that the Themes were established gradually as the need arose in the light of military threats and the availability of land grants for those who would serve in the army. The province of Hellas was then faced with a major threat, not, as it has been wrongly supposed, from the Slavic penetration, but from the growing naval power of the Arabs. The danger to the coasts and port towns of Greece was immediate. This accounts for the organization of the first Byzantine fleet of "carabos" or the "carabisiani" in the 7th Century, whose primary task was to control the sea-lanes of the Eastern Mediterranean.⁶⁶³

The possibility of granting military holdings would indicate that the region was completely under Byzantine control, and there existed inhabitants to whom they could make these land grants which involved certain military obligations and duties.

In the 7th and 8th Centuries, the degree of the Slavic penetration varied in the different European provinces of the Empire.⁶⁶⁴ In the southern Balkan peninsula the colonization was less intense. In the 8th Century, the population of the rural areas began to decline thanks to the tendency to flock to the towns,⁶⁶⁵ and this was the result in part of the general depression in the economy of the period. The decline in population was further aggravated by the plague which struck the Empire in the middle of the century. Then the current of Slavonic migration grew into a relatively massive movement southwards. But the penetration was already of a peaceful nature. It is possible that some

662. Diomedes, *Byzantine Studies*, I, 83, 84.

663. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, pp. 19 f.

664. Evert-Kappesowa, *Studia nad historia*, etc.

665. Amantos, *Slavs and Slavophones*, etc.; Pallas, *Archaeological Evidence*, etc.

troubles with the local rulers may have arisen in the early stages, but even in this instance there is no reference of such in the sources. As I have repeatedly written, the Byzantines accepted the new settlers in depopulated areas and were not concerned with the racial origin or the customs of the newcomers. In this manner, the shortage of farm hands was in some measure overcome.⁶⁶⁶ Rebellions in the province of Greece are recorded only towards the close of the 8th Century (the Stauracius campaign) and in the early 9th Century (the siege of Patras). The latter in fact was mainly the result of the greed of the local rulers (religious or no) who, it would appear, oppressed⁶⁶⁷ their tenant farmers and the Slavic families in general who dwelt in the mountain regions of Achaea.

But the Greek population amongst whom the Slavs settled was more dynamic and more numerous. This alone can account for the rapid absorption of the Slavonic families that had found a home in these areas. It is not quite accurate, as some maintain, that in the reign of Nicephorus I, a large number of Greeks was transferred to the Peloponnese.⁶⁶⁸

There is not the slightest doubt that the peaceful Slavic invaders came in gradual stages and they were, with the aid of the church, absorbed by the more numerous, more influential and more highly developed Greek population. With time, the Slavs lost their language, their gods, and their traditions, and the only traces we meet of their former existence are to be found in some place-names, and these for the most part in the mountainous areas of Greece.⁶⁶⁹

666. Lemerle, *Les repercussions de la crise*, etc.; Jorga, *Epoque et caractère de l'établissement des Slaves*, etc.

667. Lemerle, *La Chronique dite de Monemvasie*, etc.

668. It has been argued (Lemerle, *op. cit.*, Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, Charanis, etc.) that on the basis of the Theophanes narrative, in the reign of Nicephorus I, Greek colonists were brought from Asia Minor to the Peloponnese. Theophanes (pp. 486 f.) records that Nicephorus forcefully moved in 809-810, Christians "from all the themes" to "Sclaveniai". On this point I would remark that independently of the fact that the province of Greece was never characterized as "Sclavinia" (see Amantos, *op. cit.*), Theophanes himself on p. 496 records that in the year 811-812, the "colonists, finding an excuse", left and returned to their original homes (see Kyriakides, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 f.). Hence, if we were to accept the above theories, the colonization was a failure and two years later the area again was emptied, if it had been uninhabited before, of its Christian and Greek inhabitants.

669. Charanis, *Observations on the History of Greece*, etc.

The Emperor Constantine marched against an area densely populated by Slavs, but concerning this campaign the sources are few and far between, not to mention their vagueness, hence the date is uncertain.

According to Theophanes in A.M. 6149 (657-658), the 16th year of Constans (656-657), the 5th of the Patriarch Peter (658-659), the Emperor advanced into Sclavinia "and captured many and subdued it". Cedrenus records something similar for the 16th year of Constantine's reign, but instead of writing Sclavinia, he says "against the Sclavinians".⁶⁷⁰ But the Theophanes text gives no information of the location of "Sclavinia". Moreover, the chronology is so confused and inaccurate that it is difficult to find a satisfactory answer.⁶⁷¹ No other Greek source refers to the campaign, but Eastern sources record the event. Elie Bar Sinaya states that in the 39th year of the Hegira (659-660), in May of the 970th year of the Syrians (659), the Emperor entered the country of the Slavs, gave battle to their king, and defeated him. Another Nestorian source⁶⁷² writes likewise. But the *Chronicon Maroniticum*, for the year 970 (A.D. 659), relates that after "Constans" murdered his brother, he marched out with his army against the hostile northern peoples (?)⁶⁷³ having left his son (8-9 year of age?) in charge of the government.

It is obvious that the sources do not agree regarding the chronology and tend to associate the campaign with irrelevant incidents using totally

670. Theophanes, p. 347; Cedrenus, p. 761.

671. After mentioning the expedition, Theophanes then describes the martyrdom of Maximus which occurred in 661-662. For the following year, i.e. the 17th of Constantine (657-658) he tells of the peace treaty between the Byzantines and Muawiyah, then immediately thereafter adds that, "in this year, Martin was exiled ... and died in the Eastern Climates". As I have pointed out in Chapt. V., the official year for the death of Martin is 655 and not 659 as Theophanes appears to conclude (the year following the banishment). The text of Theophanes is obviously corrupt and one cannot rely upon the chronology he uses.

672. Elie Bar Sinaya, p. 88. In his edition in the C.S.C.O., p. 68, Brooks records that the Emperor attacked an area inhabited by the Slavs. The Nestorian source is cited by Baethgen, *Fragmente Syrischer usw.*

673. *Chronicon Maroniticum*, p. 55; Nau, *Fragments d'une Chronique Maronite*: Nöldeke, *Zur Geschichte der Araber usw.*, p. 96. It should be noted that it is the same chronicle translated into different languages.

imaginary dates. It is quite probable that the Maronitic chronicle confuses this campaign of Constantine with his departure for Italy some four years later. Thus it becomes impossible to trust the sources not only as far as the dating is concerned, but to understand what precisely took place.

Opinions of scholars are divided both concerning the chronology and the actual location of the military operations. Some support the year 657,⁶⁷⁴ most the year 658,⁶⁷⁵ yet others 659 and later.⁶⁷⁶ At all events, most contemporary historians do agree that Constantine took advantage of the internal difficulties confronting the Arab world, and undertook his campaign against "Sclavinia" in 658, that is to say, a year before the official truce.

The precise geographical position of "Sclavinia" and the reason for the campaign are unknown. Historians have proposed various explanations, one of which is that the word "Sclavinia" would indicate that there were areas in the Balkans that were inhabited exclusively by Slavs who possessed some kind of political organization as practiced by the Slavic tribes. The purpose of the campaign was not to expel these tribes, an action that would bring about the desolation of the area, but to subdue them.⁶⁷⁷ The operation according to this explanation took place in Macedonia (?).

674. Diehl, *Le Monde Oriental*, p. 658; Vasiliev, in *L'Entrée triomphale de l'Empereur Justinian, II*, etc.; Paparrigopoulos, p. 231; Jenkins, *Byzantium*, etc., p. 39; Hertzberg, *History of Greece*, I, 221; Hopf, *The Slavs in Greece*, p. 20; Dvornik, *Les Slaves*, etc., p. 13; Kyriakides, *Byzantine Studies*, IV, 136.

675. Ostrogorsky, *History*, etc., p. 105; Bréhier, *Vie et mort de Byzance*, p. 62; Amantos, *History*, etc., I, 325; Kulakovski, *History*, etc., III; Bury, *History*, etc., II; Setton, *The Bulgars*, etc.; Levchenko, *Byzance*, etc., p. 126; Lebeau, *Histoire*, etc., XI, 377; Lemerle, *La composition et la chronologie*, etc.; which varies between 658 and 659; Anatoljak, *Unsere Sklavinien*; Jirecek, *Geschichte der Serben*, I, 106; Diomedes, *Byzantine Studies*, I, 78; Barker, *Justinian*, etc., p. 249.

676. Brooks, in *C.M.H.*, II, 394, does not mention a date but he appears to agree that the campaign took place after the peace treaty of 659 between Byzantines and Arabs. Kaestner writes the same, pp. 74, 75, relying on the "Nöldekianus" source. It should be noted that the latter work is a translation undertaken by Nöldeke of the Maronite Chronicle. Gelzer in the *Short History* also supports the year 659.

677. Lemerle, *Invasions et migrations*, etc., and *La composition et la chronologie*, etc.

Another scholar proposed that Sclavinia which was first mentioned by Theophanes, was the mountainous region of the Rhodope range, and therefore the expedition was directed against the Slavonic peoples of the Rhodope area. A similar interpretation is supported by Kulakovski, Brehier, Tafrali, and Kyriakides, the latter of whom in fact adds that the marauding raids undertaken by these tribes had created a troublous and abnormal situation.⁶⁷⁸

Others again such as Paparrigopoulos and Kulakovski maintain that the objective of the campaign was to relieve Thessaloniki which had been hard pressed by the colonies of Slavs settled in the immediate hinterland, and that after the campaign the city ceased being threatened by these tribes.

Certain historians place the area beyond the Rhodope range or in Moesia, behind the Balkan Mountains, whereas Ostrogorsky speaks generally of Macedonia.⁶⁷⁹

Setton recognizes that the term "Sclavinia" as mentioned by Theophanes, refers to Macedonia. In support of his theory concerning the conquest of Corinth by the Bulgars, he argues that the Byzantine campaign was aimed at the recovery of Corinth, that a detachment of imperial troops advanced as far as the city and expelled the Bulgars. Thomson⁶⁸⁰ agrees with this interpretation.

In accordance, therefore, with the majority of views, the military operations had as objective the subjection of tribes in the Strymon and Rhodope region that had not recognized Byzantine sovereignty, or had rebelled against it.

As all sources relate, these tribes were defeated and finally subjected to Byzantine rule.⁶⁸¹ Theophanes reports that many prisoners were

678. Amantos, Slavs and Slavophones, etc., and Some Observations on Medieval Geography; Kyriakides, op. cit.; Kulakovski, op. cit.; Tafrali, *Thessalonique des origines*, etc., p. 135; Bréhier, *Le Démembrement*, etc., in Fliche et Martin, V, 37.

679. Paparrigopoulos, op. cit.; Bury, op. cit., II, 292; Hertzberg, op. cit.; Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 105, and *The Byzantine Empire*, etc.

680. Setton, *The Bulgars in the Balkans*, etc., and *the Emperor Constans*, etc.; Thomson, *The Athenian Agora*.

681. Strange indeed is the view of Dvornik (in *Les Slaves*, etc., p. 13) who argues that Constantine could not subject these tribes. This completely contradicts the sources. A similar error is made by Antoljak (*Unsere "Sklavinien"*) who maintains that in 658 the Sclavinians merely dispersed and were finally subjected to Byzantine rule in the second half of the 8th Century.

taken. At all events, it appears that, whether as prisoners or as peaceful Slavic families and tribes in the region, they were transported to Asia Minor and there resettled by the Byzantines to further strengthen the demographic composition of certain provinces.⁶⁸²

7

I have dwelt perhaps unduly and at great length to describe the views of the various scholars and historians on this incident, but the campaign appears to me to be very peculiar, leaving certain queries still unanswered.

The first question that arises is whether Constantine's campaign took place before or after the peace with the Arabs. It would be reasonable to assume that the Emperor undertook the expedition after the treaty when he would have secured his flank against an Arab attack. It is certainly true that already in 656 the Arabs were preoccupied with their internal problems, but in such event why did not he take advantage of this internecine strife to strike against the Arabs?

Other questions also remain: 1) The *Miracula* of St. Demetrius record a siege of Thessaloniki and a very unsettled situation in the Strymon region. The Emperor could not deal with these matters since he was busy with the war against the Arabs. The Slavs attacked Thessaloniki on July 25 of the 5th Indiction. They were repelled, but so acute was the situation that the Emperor sent an army which subjected the Slavs. The 5th Indiction coincides with the years A.D. 647, 662, 677, and 692. But in 662, Byzantium was not at war with the Arabs. On the contrary, this was a period of peace between the two Empires, and this cannot account for the first expedition of Constantine, if in fact it took place in 658 or 659, nor for the second in 662, and therefore does not involve this particular incident.⁶⁸³ Irrespective of the

682. The information concerning the transplantation of Slavs into Asia Minor is not based on any source, yet as Ostrogorsky rightly notes, Slavic troops then began to first appear in Asia Minor. As I will describe elsewhere, Theophanes informs us that in 664-665, the Slavs who were serving in the imperial army in Asia Minor, deserted to the Arabs, who in turn resettled the renegades in the region round Apamea.

683. Lemerle, *La composition et la chronologie*, etc.

reliability or not of the *Miracula* as a source, it records that the Emperor sent an army, whereas in both campaigns the Emperor himself led the expeditions. 2) Why then did he traverse the Balkans again a few years after this expedition? There are two possible answers to these queries. First, that his initial campaign was a failure. But such an eventuality conflicts with the information supplied by Theophanes. Had he failed, there is no doubt that Theophanes, whose hatred for Constantine was notorious, would have hastened to record the fact happily. Secondly, that his next campaign was directed elsewhere. This I believe to be the probable answer to the latter question.

It is my considered opinion that with the present state of the sources, one can deduce factual conclusions only with extreme difficulty. I presume that Constantine in the period 655 to 658 was preoccupied with the internal affairs of the Empire, and especially with the organization of the defences of Asia Minor in the event of a repetition of Arab incursions in the area. Up to that moment the raids were but minor razzias that could have been countered by the existing local forces at hand.

In the meantime, the Slavic tribes that had colonized the Rhodope and Strymon regions began to move. They initially bore heavily on the indigenous inhabitants and had become a threat to the communications of the European provinces of the Empire. Taking advantage of the internal squabbles of the Arabs, he launched a campaign against these troublesome elements, re-imposed imperial control, and brought peace to the area. To weaken the high concentration of Slavic colonies in the region, he transferred many Slavic families to Asia Minor. Such is my interpretation of the reference in the sources to a campaign "against Sclavinia", which most probably occurred in 658. Yet, all these assumptions are based on the extant sources as they survive today, and which certainly do not give a fully satisfactory explanation for the queries that have been expressed.

CHAPTER VIII

PEACE WITH THE ARABS AND CONSPIRACIES

Peace had come between Byzantium and the Arabs, and military hostilities had ceased, yet the internal situation of the Empire was far from pleasant. Conspiracy followed conspiracy, and intrigue shook the structure of the imperial government. The troubled atmosphere was further aggravated by inflamed passions of religious dispute. Despite Constantine's determination to put a stop to, or at least alleviate in some measure, the heated arguments centring round Christian dogma, the hatreds and ill-will, the self-centredness, and obstinacy continued throughout the period.

I

Some difficulty arises with the peace agreement that was drawn up between the Arabs and Byzantium. As Caetani writes, most chroniclers who dealt with the matter, though there are some who make no mention of it, confuse the beginning of the truce with its termination. Others again confuse the treaty with the agreement made during the Caliphate of Abd-al-Malik (685-705).⁶⁸⁴ With the dates given by the sources, I will deal in Note XV.

The initiative to draw up a treaty of peace was undoubtedly taken by Muawiyah. The fleets of both Empires had suffered much loss in the naval engagement of Phoenix. Constantine was preoccupied both with the campaigns against the Slavs and with the plots that were being hatched against him. The Arabs, too, had their internal strife and the prevailing situation in their Empire left no room for Muawiyah to deal with possible expeditions against imperial territories. Here arises a query: The great battle between Muawiyah and Ali took place in the summer of 657.⁶⁸⁵ Muawiyah was then in the heart of Mesopotamia and there

684. Caetani, *Annali*, X, 267.

685. See Chapt. VI.

always existed the danger of an attack on the flank from the Byzantines, yet why did he wait two whole years to seek a peace treaty? The chronicles do not supply an answer, for nearly all maintain that Muawiyah sued for peace to guard against any possibility of an attack from the Byzantines during the period of his struggle with Ali.⁶⁸⁶

It is my impression that Muawiyah was basically aware of the weakness of the Byzantines from whom he had nothing to fear, at least for the moment. He had hoped to overcome Ali in the meantime. But in the wake of the failure of his campaign against Ali, and from the moment that the Byzantines had resolved the "Sclavinian" problem, the situation in the eyes of Muawiyah had deteriorated. Byzantium began to build new ships and to reinforce the imperial fleet.⁶⁸⁷ In accordance with one Arab source, Muawiyah had been informed that the Greeks had assembled an army for the purpose of reconquering Syria.⁶⁸⁸ Ali was also busily engaged in preparing for a new war against Muawiyah, specially after the breakdown of the negotiations that had taken place and the arbitration which, thanks to the efforts of Ali, had been unfavourable to him.⁶⁸⁹ Under the circumstances, therefore, Muawiyah could not wage a war on two fronts, and had sent an embassy to Constantine asking for a treaty of peace.⁶⁹⁰

Fanaq-al-Rumi,⁶⁹¹ obviously of Greek extraction, was sent as ambassador to the imperial court. He presented the Emperor with various gifts, as was the custom of the time. A treaty was drawn up of a three-year duration but on the condition that the Muslims pay a daily tribute of 1000 dinars,⁶⁹² one slave,⁶⁹³ and a horse.

686. Theophanes, p. 347, writes, "on account of the insurrection". Leo the Grammarian, p. 158, says about the same.

687. It is for this reason that the Byzantine fleet reappeared much earlier than the Arab. See also Lebeau, XI, 378.

688. Hanifah ad Dinawari.

689. See Chapt. VI.

690. Theophanes, p. 347.

691. Maçoudi, II, 335; Canard, *Les relations politique et sociales*, etc.

692. The dinar was a gold coin weighting 4.5 grams.

693. I presume this would refer to Christian prisoners who would thus be returned and liberated, or Christian inhabitants of the area who had fallen into slavery.

I would say that the treaty was signed in 659 or the 39th year of the Hegira.⁶⁹⁴ Upon its termination in 662, Muawiyah who had by this time been sole ruler and Caliph for a year, declined to renew or extend the treaty, and in the summer of 663 resumed his yearly incursions of Byzantine territory.

There is yet another problem that has not been satisfactorily clarified. Muslim chroniclers state that the Greeks had provided hostages to the Arabs for the faithful fulfilment of the provisions of the treaty. These hostages were concentrated in Baalbek (Syrian Heliopolis). The odd fact is that the Byzantine chroniclers make no reference to hostages, nor do some of the Muslim historians, as, for example, Maçoudi. I tend to believe that Caetani is correct in querying the reliability of the statement regarding hostages, and suggesting perhaps that this was added subsequently by the chroniclers to somehow lighten the very burdensome terms that the Arabs were forced to accept.⁶⁹⁵ The Byzantines, after all, had absolutely no cause nor reason to provide hostages, for they themselves had not sought the peace, and the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty was exclusively dependent upon the Arabs.

The information that the hostages had been gathered in Heliopolis rouses my suspicion that this peace is confused with the truce of 651 when hostages had in fact been assembled in Heliopolis.⁶⁹⁶

In the year of the peace treaty, there appears to have occurred a most violent earthquake in Palestine where much destruction was caused.⁶⁹⁷

694. 39th year of the Hegira (29 May 659 - 16 May 660). Agreeing with this date are Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber usw.*, p. 421; Bréhier, *Vie et mort*, etc.; Amantos, I, 325; Brooks, in *C.M.H.*, II, 394; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Bury, II, 292; Caetani, *Annali*, X, 266, 267, and *Chronographia*, p. 444. On the contrary, Müller, *Islam*, I, 261; Paparrigopoulos, p. 394, and Hertzberg, support the year 658 or the 38th of the Hegira.

695. Caetani, *Annali*, X, 268 and fn. 1.

696. See Chapt. II.

697. Theophanes, p. 347, who records Anno Mundi 6150 (the 2nd Indiction). The Anno Mundi is off, though the Indiction is correct, according to which we have June 659. See also *Chronique Maronite*, ed. Nau, p. 6, and Elie Bar Sinaya, p. 88.

A new plot against the Emperor was nipped in the bud in 652. The only source to refer to it is Sébéos.⁶⁹⁸ But the narrative is so confounding that it becomes impossible to unravel the course of events. Obviously various traditions or versions had reached the writer or the weaver of the narrative who inserted them in the text pell-mell without bothering to sort them out.

According to the narrative, the principal leaders and advisers of the Emperor were executed on grounds of being involved in a conspiracy to murder the sovereign. For this reason, "all the officials and all the inhabitants of the country (?) were slain without exception, as well as all the princes who lived in the kingdom"! ⁶⁹⁹

Commander of the army of Thrace was Sbat Bagratuni, son of Varastirosz, who in turn was the son of "the great Sbat known as Xosrov Snum".⁷⁰⁰ I cannot understand how Sebat held such a position, nor does any source provide us with some kind of information or explanation of the fact. At all events, it appears that the Emperor ordered the seizure of his father-in-law the Magister Manuel who was turned over to the authorities of Constantinople and was executed by them.

All that one can surmise from this muddled narrative is that probably a conspiracy had been planned to overthrow and to murder Constantine III. What occurred in Thrace, what insurrections took place and how the whole plot was uncovered, remain a complete mystery. We do know, however, that Constantine was at the time in Dowin.⁷⁰¹ When news reached him of the events in Thrace, he hastened back to the capital.⁷⁰² We are not sure whether the army rebelled. One can only revert to supposition, for the only concrete information we have from the strange narrative is that the army of Thrace had mutinied against

698. Sébéos, pp. 130, 131.

699. Sébéos, p. 130.

700. The Sébéos source states that Sebat was the son of Xosrov Snum. But this must be a mistake, since on pp. 93 and 103, the same source records that Varastirosz who died in 645, was the son of the above and father of Sebat.

701. See Chapt. II, para. 1.

702. Sébéos, p. 138; John Catholicos, p. 76.

Sbat whom it accused of incitement to rebellion, for which reason it wished to exterminate him, but the Emperor intervened to save him. He dismissed him as head of the army of Thrace and sent him into exile.⁷⁰³ Is it possible that Sbat was initially involved in the conspiracy but later betrayed the plotters? For the eventual fate of Sbat there are two pieces of information: Ghevond or Levond⁷⁰⁴ records that a certain Sbat Bagratuni was given as hostage to the Arabs for the faithful fulfilment of the Muawiyah-Theodore Rstuni agreement, whereas Vardan⁷⁰⁵ writes that Sbat, son of Varastirosz, died in A.D. 654. It well may be that to spare his life, Constantine had him exiled to Armenia. The Vardan information fits chronologically with the events, but this is not the case with the Ghevond version.

3

One of the most obscure episodes in the history of the period concerns the execution of Theodosius, brother of the Emperor, at the order of the latter. The sources give all too little information about the course of events. It is very curious indeed that although the Byzantine sources all consistently attack Constantine and paint him in the darkest of colours, such as labelling him the new Cain, they do not report the reasons why he took such extreme measures against his brother. Some record that he did it for no apparent reason whatsoever, others write simply "unjustly". Despite his dislike for Constantine, Theophanes says of the fratricide in one statement, on p. 347, that "Constans destroyed his own brother Theodosius", and in another, on p. 351, that Constans was hated because of the fratricide and the persecution of the "orthodox", thus in a way associating the death of Theodosius with the persecution of Martin, Maximus, and others.

Without delving too deeply in the matter, historians have given various explanations for the actions of Constantine. Brooks maintains that he slew his brother because he suspected him of conspiracy, and Bréhier believes that it was on grounds of suspicion. But Bury

703. Sébèos, p. 131.

704. Ghevond, ed. Chahnazarian, p. 13; E. Filler, *Questiones de Leontii*, etc.

705. Vardan, ed. Muyldermans, p. 86.

emphasized that we know nothing of Theodosius, but most probably he was "orthodox" and was under suspicion. Kaestner argues that the murder took place because the Emperor suspected that he had designs on the throne.⁷⁰⁶ Yet the strangest theory is that proposed by Ostrogorsky.⁷⁰⁷ He maintains that Constantine accused his brother of base treachery, but the actual reason, says the historian, was that in accordance with the custom of the time, the brother of the Emperor had the right to become co-Emperor, a fact which Constantine would not accept by any manner or means. I confess I am rather bewildered by such an interpretation on the part of the learned scholar, for it bears no relationship to the reality. No one could demand to be crowned Emperor or co-Emperor.⁷⁰⁸ As I have repeatedly pointed out, the imperial throne of Byzantium was never hereditary. The standard procedure was always by election, and after the 7th Century by a coronation in church and through the church following an election. Another custom had begun to be established and was to be maintained until the very end, that is to say, the election and the coronation was to take place in the lifetime of the Emperor and oftentimes at his suggestion, when the succession would thus become regular. It never took place by virtue of hereditary right, a right that did not exist in Byzantium, but by the fact that the co-Emperor was already crowned. It is true that often the co-Emperor, as also the Emperor himself, seized the throne through revolution, following which nearly always the

706. Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 394; Bréhier, *Le Démembrement des Chrétientés orientales*, p. 178; Bury, *op. cit.*, II, 298; Kaestner, *De Imperio*, etc., p. 73.

707. Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

708. I fear that Ostrogorsky was unduly influenced by the coronation of Heraclius II and the later conflict between Constantine IV and his brothers Tiberius and Heraclius. These are, after all, the two examples which he cites in his book: 1) Heraclius II was crowned co-Emperor by his father, not that he had the right as a brother of Constantine II but because on the one hand, Heraclius had wished to secure the succession for his family and realizing that his first-born son was of frail health, he considered it wise to crown another as co-Emperor to assure a regular succession. On the other, he was persuaded by his wife Martina who had wished to secure the throne for her offspring. On this matter I have written at length in Volume II. 2) Tiberius and Heraclius, as I have written in paragraph 1 of Chapter I, had been crowned as co-Emperors in 659 by their father Constantine III. These two did not demand the throne or the right to rule as brothers of the sovereigns as Ostrogorsky mistakenly maintains, but as already crowned Emperors, and hence in their own right.

traditions were maintained.⁷⁰⁹ But there never was any recognition or suggestion of the right to be Emperor or co-Emperor by virtue of being a brother of the reigning sovereign. Even less likely would such a right be expected in the 7th Century when Byzantium still adhered more closely to the principles and traditions of the Roman Empire, that is, the election of the Emperor, than to the customs and traditions that were to be established in the later centuries of the Medieval period.

In order to get somewhat closer to the truth and to understand the better what precisely happened, we must examine very carefully the course of events and on the basis of this attempt to reach some reasonable conclusions. The inexplicable silence of the Byzantine chroniclers or the very staid recording by them of such a major occurrence, convinces me that perhaps Theodosius may well have been involved in a serious conspiracy. As I wrote in Chapter II, para. 8, some plot had in fact been organized against Constantine which may have caused the defeat (?) of the imperial fleet in the naval engagement of Phoenix. In that paragraph and in Note IX, I described at great length the details concerning the conspiracy and added that Constantine's mistrust of Theodosius dated from that time. Cedrenus⁷¹⁰ supplies the information that is repeated only by a handful of chroniclers, that before Constantine had ordered the execution of Theodosius, he had him tonsured as a monk, following the intervention of the Patriarch Paul on his behalf. Since, however, Paul had died in December 653, the above incident must have taken place within the year 653 or 652 at the earliest. But at that time Constantine was engaged with the Armenian problem and with the conspiracy uncovered in the army of Thrace. One certainly can assume that Theodosius was probably involved in the Thracian plot, but this appears to me to be highly improbable. In the first place, he was still very young, although we do not know his precise age, moreover, Constantine would not have taken him along especially in monk's garb on his military campaigns, as for example, in the expedition to destroy the dockyards of Phoenix in Lycia. It is more reasonable to assume that the first indications of his involvement in a conspiracy became apparent in the course of the naval engagement of Phoenix, hence Constantine's understandable fury against him. In that case "Patriarch Paul" should be replaced by "Peter". But if the first indication

709. Christofilopoulou, Election, Proclamation, etc.

710. Cedrenus, p. 762; Leo the Grammarian, p. 158; Theodosius of Melitene, p. 109.

of his conspiratorial involvement was in 655, why then did such a long time elapse before the order was issued for his execution? When was he put to death? The sources vary from as early as 657 to as late as 661. If we accept Theophanes who, moreover, uses four different chronological systems,⁷¹¹ then the death of Theodosius occurred in 660 or 661. Theophanes dates the incident in the same year as the murder of Ali and the proclamation of Muawiyah as the sole Caliph. Ali, as I have already noted, was murdered in January 661, and Muawiyah assumed the Caliphate in July 661.⁷¹²

I have described in Chapter V how Maximus, after the failure of all attempts to dissuade him from interfering in public affairs and disturbing the tranquility of the Empire, was sent into banishment in 656 to Perveri where he lived in quiet retirement for a reasonably long period. Abruptly in 661, in the year that Theodosius was put to death, he was again seized, brought to Constantinople and tried by a mixed court of ecclesiastics and senators. The composition of the tribunal undoubtedly indicates that the accusations against Maximus not only involved charges of a religious nature, but concerned primarily his political activities and most probably incitement to rebellion against the Emperor. The cloth alone preserved him from the death penalty. In the same Chapter I raised the question of why he had spent five years in exile in apparent isolation and was suddenly recalled to be treated so harshly. Some scholars maintain that the refusal of Maximus to give ear to the admonitions of Constantine, and his subversive correspondence and memoranda against the sovereign⁷¹³ aroused the ire of Constantine, but I do not find this explanation wholly satisfactory. His banishment to a distant province would have been ample punishment, for he would have been cut off from easy communication with others, and Byzantium would have been rid of his irritating intervention in its affairs and his attempts to incite the Empire against the imperial authority.

711. Theophanes, p. 347, Anno Mundi 6151 (A.D. 659) or if we accept the views of Brooks (*The Chronology of Theophanes*), then A.M. 6151 (660), the 18th of Constantine (658-659), the 7th of the Patriarch Peter (660-661) and the 4th of Muawiyah (659-660).

712. Zambauer, *Manuel de Généalogie*, etc.

713. Theophanes, p. 347.

Despite the great amount of literature that has been devoted to the subject, the following facts alone have been established for the moment: 1) Constantine was not fond of, and shunned religious disputation and argument. *Not a single source* records his involvement in dogmatic dispute. This explains why he issued the Type by which all discussion on controversial dogmatic subjects were banned. In the light of the above, how can we possibly agree that the same person who proscribed religious argument could breach the edict which he himself issued? 2) Despite all that has been written to the contrary, Constantine had not displayed any brutality. He was accused of savagery, yet only two persons are cited as having been persecuted by him, Martin and Maximus. But Martin was charged with base treachery, and Maximus in all likelihood incited disobedience and rebellion. Theophanes records that Maximus was hounded because he struggled for the true faith against the Monothelites. Yet he could have been charged for many other acts, for example, that he was one of the instigators of the rebellion of the African Exarch Gregory, that he advised and incited Martin, not to mention Olympius, Exarch of Italy, and so on. But all these subversive activities had been forgiven, overlooked and forgotten. It was not until the final refusal to cease his polemics against the policy of Byzantium that he was exiled to Perveri where he lived for some five years in comparative peace and isolation. Why, then, the trial and the harsh treatment after a lapse of five years?

I have arrived at certain personal conclusions which in my opinion reasonably explain the Theodosius and Maximus affair. It is most probable that Theodosius was an "orthodox" and had associated with circles that were opposed to the religious policy of Constantine, that is, had refused to support the solution that put an end to the problem of dogma. When in 654, Constantine, first-born son of Constantine III, was crowned Co-Emperor, Theodosius lost any hope he may have had of some day sitting on the throne, and it is possible that under pressure from the "orthodox" faction of Byzantium, he agreed to join the conspiracy. The result of this plot was the destruction of the Byzantine fleet at Phoenix. It appears that Constantine did not take immediate measures against his brother, but had become most suspicious of his actions. In 659 or 660,⁷¹⁴ and apparently following the intervention of the Patriarch Peter, he was forced to take the

714. Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 109.

vows. Most probably, in the wake of the pressures and exhortations of Maximus, Theodosius became involved in a new plot which was soon uncovered. It was on the eve of Constantine's departure for the Balkans and Italy. It would have been far too risky for Constantine to leave his young son, who was only 12 years of age, in a murky atmosphere of conspiratorial activities. He was therefore forced to order the execution of his brother, but we do not know whether this was preceded by a trial. There are no sources dealing with the incident, and if there had been, they would have undoubtedly expressed a hatred for Constantine. At all events, the death sentence was carried out at the close of 660 or more likely in the first six months of 661.⁷¹⁵

One can well imagine the wrath of Constantine against the instigators of the plot and especially those who had swayed his brother. He ordered the return of Maximus to Constantinople where he was placed on trial before a mixed tribunal. Maximus was not charged on grounds of dogmatic belief but most probably for incitement to subversive activities against the state. For such activities the Emperor imposed upon the turbulent monk whom he apparently believed to be the foremost instigator, and who in any case had brought so much harm to the Empire by virtue of his senile intractability and monkish fervor, the harshest of penalties.

Only in such manner, in my estimation, can the execution of Theodosius and the extreme penalties meted out to Maximus be explained.

715. Modern historians cite the following dates: Paparrigopoulos, p. 394, Bury, II, 298, Finlay, I, 377, Lambros, p. 728, Hodgkin, VI, 270, and Gelzer, p. 105, support the year 660. Caetani, *Annali*, X, 295, supports the 39th year of the Hegira (659-660), Ostrogorsky says 660-661, and Brooks, A.D. 659.

CHAPTER IX

DEPARTURE OF CONSTANTINE FOR GREECE AND ITALY

In A.D. 657, or about the time of the battle of Sifin, Constantine missed the opportunity of attacking the Arabs to strengthen his position in Armenia and Cilicia. We do not know the reasons preventing him from taking advantage of the situation. I do not agree with certain historians who maintain that he was in a position to invade and to reoccupy Syria, for he had no support from the indigenous population, and did not possess a large enough army to undertake a campaign of such magnitude.

The situation confronting Constantine was not so fortunate. There was at the time some pressure from the Slavs, and it is possible that the latter had succeeded in cutting normal communications with the capital. Using to advantage the abnormal conditions existing in the Arab or Moslem world, Constantine in 658 campaigned against the Slavic elements, restored the avenues of communication and subjected the recalcitrant tribes in the Rhodope and Strymon areas. Continuous conspiracies or incitement to rebel against his authority hindered him from concentrating exclusively on the foreign enemies of the Empire. So disturbed was the internal situation that Constantine was forced to take extreme measures, even to the extent of executing his brother, to eliminate the constant threat to the throne. But the atmosphere within the capital was stifling. The self-styled "Orthodox" who had lost the hope of replacing Constantine with Theodosius, overtly displayed their hatred of his person. The chroniclers⁷¹⁶ have described the hostility of the inhabitants of Constantinople as being in the extreme. The reason for such abhorrence was the murder of his brother, the ill-treatment meted out to Martin, to Maximus, and "because he maltreated and

716. Theophanes, p. 351; Zonaras, III, 313, 314; George the Monk, p. 717; Cedrenus, p. 762; Glycas, p. 520; Agapius, p. 230/490.

exiled many Orthodox and confiscated their properties".⁷¹⁷ Later chroniclers in fact go so far as to claim that the people of the capital surnamed the Emperor the new Cain.⁷¹⁸

Such was the suffocating atmosphere in Constantinople when the Emperor took the decision to leave the city.

I

Constantine's decision to depart has given rise to many problems for historians. When he took the decision is unknown, nor is there any information on the date he quitted the capital, nor the reason which determined him to take the move.

Byzantine and Eastern chroniclers maintain that Constantine had wished to transfer his capital to Rome,⁷¹⁹ a view that is unfortunately supported by some modern historians.⁷²⁰ Yet such a contention is very far from the truth as evidenced by the fact that he proceeded to Rome a full 1 1/2 years later to meet and to confer with the Pope. Papar-

717. Theophanes, p. 351. Most chroniclers use identical descriptions. There are two very curious points arising from these excerpts: 1) While they record "many Orthodox", they mention only two disciples of Maximus. 2) They associate the murder of Theodosius always with the maltreatment of Martin and Maximus as though this were a natural consequence, regardless of the fact that Martin was sent into banishment in early 654, and Maximus, at the close of 661 or early 662.

718. Agapius, p. 230/490; *Chronicon Maroniticum*, p. 55; Nau, *Fragments*, etc., p. 6; Nöldeke, *Zur Geschichte der Araber usw.*, p. 95.

719. Theophanes, p. 348; George the Monk, p. 717; Zonaras, III, 316; Cedrenus, p. 762; Glycas, p. 520; *Anonymous Chronicle of 1234*.

720. Ostrogorsky, *A History*, etc., p. 108, adds that the sources do not offer an explanation for the decision. But this is not entirely correct. In the *Byzantine Empire in the World*, etc., he writes that Constans fulfilled the original plan of Heraclius to move the capital of the Empire to the West. Again I must point out that Heraclius never considered such a move. See Vol. I, para. 2 of Chapter IX. Unfortunately, Toynbee, *A Study of History*, IV, 330, influenced unduly by the inaccuracies of Theophanes, maintains the same argument. Diehl, *Le Monde Orientale*, p. 239. Amantos, *History*, etc., I, 327, emphasizes that this is drawn from Theophanes, but adds that Constantine's intention was to preserve Sicily from Arab incursions. Bury, *A History*, etc., II, 292; Finlay, *History*, etc., I, 378. Hodgkin, VII, 270, points out in addition that he wished to restore the empire of the West.

rigopoulos more prudently notes that this bit of information supplied by the chroniclers and which is completely groundless, was deliberately inserted in their narratives to prick further the hostile feelings of the people for the Emperor and to intensify the hatred against him.⁷²¹

Eastern sources record that due to this intense hatred, he left the administration of the Empire in the hands of his son Constantine, took his wife with him (!) and his entire army, and so on.⁷²² To such wild claims all I would state at this point is that the heir Constantine was no more than 10 or 11 years of age, and that his wife did not accompany him, nor as will be pointed out in the narrative, did he permit her to leave Constantinople under any circumstances.

The Latin chroniclers provide another version. Paul the Deacon⁷²³ maintains that Constantine had wished to recover Italy from the Lombards, a contention which most Western chroniclers support.⁷²⁴

Thus there exist three various explanations for his move, of which only the last appears to have some grain of truth. Under the circumstances, we must draw our own conclusions on the basis of all the movements of Constantine, when he quitted the capital, where he went, and what he accomplished. The first question-mark involves the date of his departure from Constantinople. Many versions exist and the sources are conflicting. Theophanes records that he left in A.M. 6153 (A.D. 661-662), in the 20th year of his reign (660-661), the 9th year of the Patriarch Peter (662-663). Cedrenus who as a rule faithfully copies Theophanes, gives the 18th year of Constantine (658-659). The Easterners say the year 970 (A.D. 659) or the 17th of Constantine (657-658) or the year before Muawiyah became the sole Caliph.⁷²⁵ The

721. Paparrigopoulos, *History*, etc., III, 233.

722. *Chronicon Maroniticum*, p. 55; Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Michael the Syrian, II, 446. I again point out that the first three are one and the same source. The first has a Latin translation, the third a German, and the second exists only in a French translation.

723. Paul the Deacon, *Historia*, etc., L.V., 6.

724. Bedae, *Chronica*; John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum*, etc., p. 8; Romualdi Salernitani, *Chronicon*, etc.; Andrea Dandolo, *Chronicon*, p. 120 (99); *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, p. 417; Paul Warnefriedes, *Geschichte usw.*, p. 123; *Chronicon Casinense*, etc.

725. *Chronicon Maroniticum*, p. 55; Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

Latin chroniclers cannot be taken seriously. All modern historians agree with the year 662.

It is my impression that Constantine could not have left the capital after the expiry of the peace treaty with the Arabs. As has been pointed out in the previous chapter, the treaty was of a three-year duration, from 659 to 662.

The Emperor proceeded to Thessaloniki, traversed the length of Greece, tarried for many months in Athens and the nearby areas of the former province of Hellas, then moved on to Italy and finally reached Sicily. These are the bare facts at hand upon which we can rely. Yet there is the question of whether he went by sea or took the overland route to Thessaloniki. Cedrenus records that he quitted the capital by ship without saying where he went.

On the basis of the given data, we can with certainty assume certain facts. The general atmosphere in Constantinople was suffocating and unbearable for the Emperor, especially after the execution of his brother and the trial of Maximus. The persistent intrigues against his person, and the undiminished religious controversy despite the existing prohibition of such disputation, had created for Constantine an intolerable and dangerous situation.

The peace treaty with the Arabs, and perhaps the hope of renewal of the truce, provided him with a breathing spell during which he could move without hindrance, and particularly give him the necessary time to resolve the situation in the West and at the same time to reorganize its defences.

With the recovery of the former Persian Armenia which again came within the Byzantine sphere of influence, the whole of northeastern Asia Minor covered by the Armeniakon theme was strengthened. Between the years 645 and 660, the organization of the Anatolikon theme which shielded southeastern Asia Minor had been completed. The formation of the Opsikion theme was also in all probability concluded. Thus the defences of Asia Minor and the approaches to the shore opposite Constantinople had been covered. Constantine therefore had substantial hopes that the Eastern provinces of the Empire were now secure from the potential dangers of assault.⁷²⁶

726. These defences were of course intended for major attacks. Very little could be done to prevent plundering incursions.

The situation in the Balkans was not wholly satisfactory despite the campaign that had been undertaken a few years earlier. The subject will be dealt with at greater length in the following paragraph. But in addition to the Balkan peninsula, the defences of the southeastern area of the province of Hellas need strengthening, for there existed the danger of an eventual reappearance of the Arab fleet which would expose the region to both plundering raids and even actual conquest.

Arab sources state that when Muawiyah assumed the Caliphate, he appointed Muawiyah-ibn-Hudayg governor of "Ifrikia" which name the Arabs had given to the Byzantine province of Africa. Irrespective of the reliability of the Arab chroniclers, for up to that time no new incursion of Africa had taken place,⁷²⁷ the need for the organization of the defence of both Africa and Sicily through which territories the Byzantine possessions in Italy would be exposed, was imperative.⁷²⁸ Moreover, it is not known whether the province of Africa had been finally recovered by the Empire or whether, after the rebellion of Gregory, it had assumed a certain modicum of independence. It is therefore most likely that Constantine's purpose was not only to organize the defence but to re-establish imperial sovereignty in Africa.

In the Italian peninsula, the death of the Lombard ruler Aripert in 661 was followed by a fierce rivalry between his sons Godopert and Perctarit. Constantine may have believed that he could exploit these dissensions⁷²⁹ to regain control of southern Italy, especially of the Duchy of Beneventum, and in this way strengthen the defensive measures in the Western Mediterranean,⁷³⁰ and at the same time restore the prestige of the Empire in the area.

These were in all likelihood the motives that drove Constantine to undertake a campaign in the West. Vasiliev⁷³¹ is wholly justified in maintaining that irrespective of the fact that he did not feel entirely secure in Constantinople, the Emperor believed that the Arab threat

727. Baladhuri, pp. 355-361. According to Al-Maliki, XXXIV, based on Abou 'I-Arabe, in the year 661 Hudayg invaded Africa, but this cannot be accurate for the peace treaty between Arab and Byzantine was then in force. See Al-Hakam as well as the corrections of Gateau.

728. Pirenne, Mahomet, etc., p. 94; Oikonomides, Une liste Arabe, etc.

729. Lambros, III, 728; Bury, op. cit., II, 299; Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 394.

730. Kulakovski, op. cit.; Bury, The Naval Policy of the Roman Empire.

731. Vasiliev, Histoire, etc., I, 292.

would be directed to North Africa and then to Sicily and Italy. He had wished personally to undertake the defense of these areas.

The suggestion put forth by Theophanes and other Byzantine chroniclers of a transference of the capital to Rome is completely devoid of reason. The Byzantines were aware of their weaknesses in Italy, of the shortage of military forces to confront the Lombards alone, of the lack of the means to develop and maintain a large and numerous army, and lastly, of the antipathy of the inhabitants of Italy for them. Under such circumstances, what advantage would the transfer of the capital bring them.

2

The decision to leave the city caused deep concern and considerable reaction on the part of the population.⁷³² The Byzantine chroniclers relate that Constantine departed by sea. But this contradicts the Latin sources which all maintain that the Emperor proceeded to Athens overland by the coastal road.⁷³³ Gregorovius and Lambros both argue that the journey to Athens was by sea and that the fleet anchored at Piraeus which was then a secure harbour.⁷³⁴

The precise date of his departure from the capital is not known. At all events, as has already been pointed out, he must have left before the expiry of the Arab peace treaty, and therefore before the end of 661. An Arab-Syrian source speaks of a departure in 660 and before the proclamation of Muawiyah as the sole Caliph, hence before July of 661.⁷³⁵ In all probability therefore Constantine in the summer of 661, despite the protestations of the officials in the imperial capital, boarded ship and sailed to Thessaloniki.⁷³⁶ There he tarried for a time, but for how long is unknown. I presume that he halted there to oversee the

732. Ostrogorsky, *The Byzantine Empire in the World of the Seventh Century*.

733. L.P., p. 343, "De Regia Urbe per litoraria in Athenas", Paul the Deacon, V, 6, records the same as do the other Latin chroniclers.

734. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Athens*, p. 154; Lambros, *History*, etc., III, 729; Lebeau, XI, 386.

735. Nöldeke, *Zur Geschichte der Araber usw.*, p. 25.

736. Ostrogorsky, *History*, etc., p. 109; Bréhier, *Vie et Mort de Byzance*, p. 62; Setton, *The Emperor Constantine*, etc.

defensive measures being undertaken for the region. He also undoubtedly dealt with the subjection of certain Slavonic tribes that had penetrated the area and that may have given trouble to the local administration.

From Thessaloniki Constantine advanced into central Greece along the coast road.⁷³⁷ It has been wrongly maintained that the Emperor was forced to take this route because the Slavs controlled the greater part of the hinterland.⁷³⁸ Independently of the fact that the coastal road was the shortest and easiest to traverse,⁷³⁹ Constantine was accompanied by an army that could have overcome without difficulty any Slavic tribe that attempted to hinder his march. He had not, after all, come to Greece as a visitor but as the supreme sovereign who wished to re-establish the security, the safety, and freedom of communications. The fact that he preferred the coast road would indicate either that no Slavic tribes had colonized the hinterland of Greece or that the existing Slavic inhabitants were docile subjects and had not created any problems for the local rulers, for otherwise the Emperor would of necessity have intervened. It has also been maintained that since numerous buckles of male belts have been found both in the Athens area and in many other sites in Greece, similar to those uncovered at Corinth and which are said to have belonged to Bulgar Cotrigurs or Utigurs, that one can trace the route taken by the Emperor to Athens by drawing a line through the various sites in which these buckles were uncovered.⁷⁴⁰

737. Paul the Deacon, V, 7; John the Deacon, p. 8; Sicardi, *Episcopi Cremonenses*, p. 571; Andrea Dandolo, p. 120; *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, p. 417; L.P., p. 343; *Chronicon Casinense*, pp. 354, 355. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Athens*, I, 154. Lambros, 729, Lebeau, XI, 386 and others mistakenly state he went to Athens by sea. But this conflicts with all sources that record Constantine's journey to Athens.

738. Frantz, *From Paganism*, etc.

739. The highway from Thessaloniki to Athens today is almost a completely coastal thoroughfare.

740. Setton, *The Emperor Constans*, etc.; Davidson, *The Avar Invasion*, etc. We are ignorant of the composition of either the imperial guard or the army that accompanied the sovereign. It is possible that in these ranks there served bodies of Cotrigurs or Utigurs or Avars that had been inducted into the Byzantine army. Although the formation of the themes had already begun, many of the imperial ranks were mercenaries. This was common even after the overhaul of the entire administrative system.

Athens in this period certainly did not possess its former grandeur and brilliance. But for the Emperor to remain there for months⁷⁴¹ with his court and retinue which was numerous, as the *Liber Pontificalis* relates, would indicate that the town was not an insignificant hamlet as certain scholars (Jenkins etc.) would have us believe.⁷⁴² The presence of a large imperial retinue would require many services which could only be provided by a thriving and productive population.

It is certainly true that Athens had undergone many changes and the numbers of its inhabitants had greatly dwindled, as has been pointed out in Chapter VII, but it continued to maintain some of its former prosperity.⁷⁴³ There is no record of where the Emperor and his retinue were billeted. Indications of large buildings that could accomodate such numbers have not survived, although there exist many traces of dwellings that date to the 7th Century.⁷⁴⁴

Athens had on the whole preserved its classical appearance although the ancient temples such as the Parthenon had been converted to Christian centres of worship. The schools continued to function albeit to a diminished extent since the days of Justinian, but especially since the establishment and imperial support of the great schools of Constantinople. Yet it still enjoyed a world-wide reputation. The school of philosophy, although greatly influenced and modified by Christian ideology, was considered one of the better schools.

There have been uncovered in Athens bronze objects belonging to harnesses and trappings bearing the initials "K" (Kappa) and "ω" (Omega) which undoubtedly were badges belonging to the imperial horse and cavalry.⁷⁴⁵ Also discovered were numerous coins bearing the image of Constantine alone, or with his son, or with his three sons.⁷⁴⁶ The

741. Gibbon-Bury, V, 177; Gregorovius, op. cit., I, 154; Lambros, op. cit.: Hertzberg, I, 222; Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 109; Amantos, I, 327.

742. The argument of Jenkins, op. cit., is very odd indeed. He states that the Avar-Bulgar-Slavic invasion of 587 destroyed Athens. This conflicts with the accepted fact that Constantine resided in the city with his troops for many months which Jenkins, p. 41, accepts. If in fact Athens had been destroyed, where then could the Emperor and his followers be billeted. In the ruins? Yet this is but one of several paradoxical remarks made by Jenkins.

743. Bury, op. cit., II, 300; Hertzberg, op. cit., Finlay, A History, etc., I, 378.

744. Setton, The Archaeology of Medieval Athens.

745. Frantz, op. cit.

746. Thomson, The Athenian Agora; Charanis, The Significance of Coins, etc.; Metcalf, The Aegean Coastlands under Threat, etc.

unearthing of so many coins can be explained by the presence of the large retinue of the court and army when the coinage was understandably abundant and the instinct of saving and hoarding commonplace, especially of gold coins, in an age that was insecure and troubled.

All historians argue that Constantine had resided in Athens alone but this does not appear to be a reasonable assumption. The Emperor did not quit the capital with a large retinue and army only to establish himself in a small provincial town, however famous Athens may have been. It is my impression that Constantine selected Athens as a centre from which to conduct his operations. It was ideally situated and provided greater means of accommodation for his retainers and troops.

After settling the affairs of Athens and the immediate neighborhood, he proceeded to Corinth, in this period the capital city of the province of Hellas.⁷⁴⁷ Here the Metropolitan had his see to which nearly the whole of the late province of Greece belonged.⁷⁴⁸ We do not know the name of the Metropolitan at this time. But it would appear that a great reception was given the Emperor and a statue was erected in his honour in the marketplace the base of which had been discovered in 1937.⁷⁴⁹

Another mistaken notion widely supported is that Corinth was then uninhabited. It is very probable that at the end of the 6th Century in the wake of the devastation brought on by the invasions, Corinth suffered a certain decline. Understandably the number of its inhabitants had diminished and life in the town was confined to the Acrocorinth. This may explain why Constantine established his headquarters in Athens rather than Corinth which was the capital of the province. Yet there exists archaeological evidence indicating not only signs of reconstruction in the 7th Century but a certain economic activity.⁷⁵⁰ More-

747. Hierocles Synecdemos, 643, 6, and 646, 7. According to Honigmann, "or Achaea" is an addition of a copyist in the original manuscript.

748. Hierocles Synecdemos, 646, 7; Constantine Porphyrogennetus, *De Them.*, ed. Pertusi, p. 90; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, I, 161, 162; Mansi, XI, 640 f.; Parthey, *op. cit.*,

749. It is only with great difficulty that the inscription on the base can be deciphered: "(N)IKHFORON SEVASTON ... (F)LAVION KONSTAN... KORINTHION POLIS". See J. Kent, *A Byzantine*, etc.

750. Scranton, *Medieval Architecture*, etc., pp. 27, 28; Finley, *Corinth in the Middle Ages*.

over, the discovery of the base of a statue of the Emperor in the agora would indicate that Corinth had not been abandoned. In the correspondence of the popes with the metropolitans of Corinth who then fell within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome, no single hint exists concerning the abandonment or conquest of the town.

Constantine remained at Corinth for a brief period,⁷⁵¹ but for how long is not known. He probably visited other towns or sent detachments of troops for military or policing operations in areas where Slavic tribes had resided and who may have given trouble to the local authorities. It stands to reason that since the Emperor led a large force through Macedonia and the former province of Hellas, he would have taken the measures necessary to assure the security of the inhabitants of those areas who, after the settlement of the Croats and Serbs in the Balkans, no longer ran the risk of massive incursions by the barbaric Hunno-Mongol tribes, as occurred in the 6th Century and in the first quarter of the 7th. The purpose of Constantine's lengthy sojourn to this part of the world, was, I again repeat, to impose peace and order in the area wherever there was a need for it, and especially to organize the defences against a new enemy who through his naval armament had become a potential danger to the extensive and exposed coastal stretches.⁷⁵²

It is my impression that the reorganization of the Hellas theme with Corinth as the capital was then begun. The best possible defence against the Arab threat was the establishment of Hellas as a theme. It is not the place here to go deeply into the subject upon which I touched in Volume I, Chapter XIX, and to which I will return in a next volume when examining the administrative reorganization of the Empire. But as I have already stated, the themes were established wherever the possibilities existed and particularly where the danger was imminent and pressing. In this instance, the possibilities certainly existed. The incursions and the devastation wrought by the barbarians had resulted in an abandonment of the countryside. Landed estates were therefore available, and their conversion into military holdings would assure the area of an armed force in the case of emergency, and would also provide

751. Setton, *op. cit.*; Thomson, *op. cit.*; Finley, *op. cit.*

752. Any other explanation would not hold water. Constantine certainly did not visit Greece with a large army and waste about a year on a ... sightseeing tour of the country.

economic returns from the lands thus granted. The danger was close at hand, for the growth of Arab naval power exposed these areas to attack and made the province one of the most vulnerable of the Empire. Economic means for defensive measures were in all likelihood available as long as peace existed.

The first themes were established round the larger provinces or the extensive military administrative units. Such, for example, was the vast region which subsequently was incorporated into the Armeniakon theme with capital at Caesaria. It initially fell militarily under the "Magister Militum per Armeniam".⁷⁵³ The Hellas theme had as its core the former province of Greece which was lately governed by a proconsul and of which the capital town was Corinth,⁷⁵⁴ hence, including the Peloponnese, its frontiers most probably extended as far as Thermopylae.⁷⁵⁵

Those historians, such as Jenkins, Obolensky and others, who rely upon the Chronicle of Monemvasia, have maintained that the entire Peloponnese, or at least its western part, was not under Byzantine control. Irrespective, however, of the reliability of this Chronicle (about which I wrote in Chapter VII), the same source records that the eastern portion of the Peloponnese at least was free and that there existed a headquarters with a strategos in command at Corinth.

I believe that there can be no clearer evidence that the Peloponnese was included in the theme than the fact that when the Peloponnesian theme was established in the 8th or 9th Century, the strategos who was responsible for the area assumed a rank superior to that of the Hellas

753. Karayannopoulos, *Die Entstehung usw.*

754. The Metropolitan of Corinth furthermore carried the title "and of the whole of Greece", since the entire Hellas prefecture fell ecclesiastically within his jurisdiction. It was only later when the Peloponnesian theme was formed and the Metropolitan of Athens had been established that the Corinthian see ceased to possess the title of "the whole of Greece". See Mansi, XVI, 191.

755. Ostrogorsky (*Die Entstehung der Themen Hellas*) argues that the Hellas theme included only Central Greece, and that the Peloponnese and Western Greece were not part of it. But this apparently refers to the organization after the 9th Century, when the Peloponnesian theme and the theme of Nicopolis (Preveza) were established. In the period before the 9th Century, "Hellas" extended over the entire region below Thermopylae (Charanis, *Hellas in the Greek sources, etc.*). The latter conjecture is sound in that the initial Hellas theme "contained the entire Prefecture of Hellas governed by a proconsul".

theme which had been founded in the 7th Century. The question may well arise, why? Because the area included in the Hellas theme initially embraced the Peloponnesian theme with its capital at Corinth which town retained its foremost position as capital of the new theme and as the seat of the strategos. Some argue that the Hellas theme was established between 687 and 695,⁷⁵⁶ but I do not believe this to be true.

It is reputed⁷⁵⁷ that during his stay in Greece, Constantine conscripted many of the inhabitants to strengthen his army. But no source makes such a claim. Common sense would not make for such a contention. Constantine had wished to organize the defence of Greece, and it would therefore have been irresponsible to denude the province of those inhabitants who were its foremost defenders. He may well have enlisted men from the Slavic population with the intention of weakening it. But this can be but a conjecture.

Once having completed the defensive measures for Greece, Constantine was set to depart for Italy. The sources conflict as to the points of his departure and the embarkation of the army. Paul the Deacon⁷⁵⁸ writes briefly that he left by sea (and certainly he could not have gone by land) for Taranto. Other Latin sources⁷⁵⁹ write more or less identically, and this is understandable since Paul was their unique

756. After 687, for it is not mentioned in the letter of Justinian to Pope Conon. It should be noted that Conon is wrongly referred to as the recipient, for the letter was directed to Pope John and was written in March of 687, but was turned over to Conon, for John had in the meantime died. The period before 695 is supported because a strategos of Hellas was first mentioned (Theophanes, p. 368). But the observation is a mistake. The letter does not refer to "themes" but military units. It mentions, among others, the "Demes", the excubitors and the army of Sardinia. The fact that the strategos of Hellas was first mentioned does not signify that the "theme" was then established. For example, the Armeniakon theme was initially organized in the first quarter of the 7th Century, yet it is referred to by Theophanes (p. 348) in as late as 667 (A.M. 6159).

757. Hertzberg, *History of Greece*, I, 222; Finlay, *op. cit.*, I, 378.

758. Pauli, *Historia Langobardorum*, L. V., 6. He writes, "Athenas venit indeque mare transgressus, Tarentum applicuit". That is, he came to Athens and "from here", or "after this", having crossed the sea he disembarked (or arrived) at Taranto.

759. L.P., p. 343. Vita Pope Vitalian; Dandolo, *Chronicon*, p. 120 (99); *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, p. 417.

source of information. The problem now arises whether he joined the fleet at Piraeus, as some argue,⁷⁶⁰ or at Corinth.

Constantine quitted Greece with his army in the early Spring of 663. At that time of year the sea of Cape Tainaros is generally stormy. It is difficult to believe that the Emperor would have wished to have either his army or himself suffer a tempestuous journey by embarking at Piraeus. It would appear more reasonable to assume that he sent his fleet to make the trip round the stormy cape of the Peloponnese and have the army embark on the ships at Corinth or Patras.

3

In the Spring of 663 (the month is uncertain) Constantine disembarked at Taranto.⁷⁶¹ In all probability his army was composed of troops drawn from the Armeniakon and the Anatolikon themes, of recruits and levies drawn from Macedonia and Greece, and a part of the imperial guard. I do not believe the statement of Bréhier⁷⁶² that the army of Constantine consisted mostly of Armenians since no source records as much.

The ensuing paragraphs I have based exclusively on Western sources and indeed sources that are Roman in sympathy or are favorably inclined to the Lombards, and at all events certainly hostile always to Byzantium. Byzantine sources record nothing concerning these campaigns.

760. Gregorovius, *History of Athens*, I, 156; and *Geschichte der Stadt Rom usw.*, II, 148-149; Lambros, *History, etc.*, III, 730.

761. Paul the Deacon, *op. cit.*, L. V., 7; Romualdi Salernitani, *Chronicon*, p. 127; L.P., I, 343 which cites as the date the 6th Indiction (September 662 - August 663); Godefridi Viterbiensis, p. 392; Andrea Dandolo, *Chronicon*, p. 120; *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, p. 417; Paul Warnefriedes, *Geschichte usw.*, p. 123; *Chronicon Casinense*, pp. 354, 355. All these use Paul the Deacon as the major if not the sole source.

762. Bréhier, *Vie et Mort de Byzance*, p. 62. It is most improbable that Constantine would have weakened the defences of the Armeniakon theme, at a time when the truce with the Arabs was due to expire and the renewal of the treaty was problematical.

Constantine established his base of operations at Taranto where he assembled forces from Naples and from Sicily.⁷⁶³ I do not agree entirely with what has been maintained by the Western sources, namely, that Constantine had hoped to liberate the whole of Italy from Lombard power. He neither possessed adequate financial means nor the military strength to bring such an ambitious project to a happy conclusion. It is my impression that Constantine hoped to reconquer the Duchy of Beneventum which had been established by the Lombards, so as to unite the imperial territories of southern Italy with Rome. Were he to succeed in this first leg of his plan and without too much delay, then he would perhaps be able to undertake the next stage of the grand operation. It should be borne in mind that his primary objective was to build up the defences of Africa and Sicily against the looming Arab threat.

When Constantine arrived at Taranto, the situation in the territories held by the Lombards was not that which had existed when he quitted Constantinople. Grimoald succeeded in imposing his rule and had been crowned king. The Duchy of Beneventum was held by his youngest son Romuald. The Lombards had undoubtedly learned of Constantine's plans, and Grimoald assembled strong forces throughout the Italian peninsula. I suspect that the Lombard sovereign had expected Constantine to disembark at Ravenna, capital of the Exarchate, and to set out from that city. These are of course only suppositions. The only thing we do know is that Grimoald had concentrated his armies north of the Po.⁷⁶⁴ This fact led me to such a conclusion.

Constantine lost no time in launching his campaign following the Via Appia into the Duchy. Many small towns fell to his advancing army and the Lombards were soon seized by panic. The first determined resistance was encountered at the strongly fortified town of Acherontium. Thanks to its strong position it was to be taken only after a prolonged siege. Not wishing to lose precious time, Constantine had moved beyond the town and advanced to Luceria, one of the wealthier cities of the Duchy. It was carried by assault, plundered and almost entirely razed to the ground. The towns of Ortona, Ecani and others also fell.⁷⁶⁵

763. Lambros, *op. cit.*, III, 730; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, 109; Lebeau, XI, 386. The threat to an Arab invasion of Sicily had not yet arisen.

764. Paul the Deacon, *op. cit.*, V., 7.

765. Romualdi Selemitani, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

Constantine advanced along the Via Trajana to reach Beneventum itself. Although the inhabitants were panic-stricken, the young Duke was determined to put up a stout defence. Upon learning of the disembarkation of Constantine some time before, he had sent his tutor Seswald to seek urgent reinforcements from his father. Grimoald thereupon gathered his army and hastened to Beneventum, but en route many Lombards from the northern provinces of Italy deserted his forces.⁷⁶⁶

Constantine set up many siege machines and began a close beleaguering of the city against which sustained assaults were made.⁷⁶⁷ Despite the danger to his capital, the young Romuald made frequent forays against the besiegers especially after nightfall. News was finally received of the impending arrival on the scene of Grimoald. Constantine realized the impossibility of taking the city by storm and at the same time to confront the advancing foe, so he speedily came to terms with Romuald. The latter's sister Giza⁷⁶⁸ was given as hostage for the fulfilment of the agreement the terms of which are unknown.⁷⁶⁹ Following this, the Emperor raised the siege and began the march to Naples.⁷⁷⁰

Upon reaching the river Calor or Calore at a site known as "Pugna" between Beneventum and Capua, his army suffered a surprise attack on the part of Mitola, Count of Capua. According to Western chroniclers, the Byzantines were defeated, but it appears that nothing more than skir-

766. Hodgkin, *Italy, etc.*, VI, 273.

767. Hodgkin, *op. cit.*; Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens usw.*, p. 249; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*; Brooks, in *C.M.H.*, II, p. 394.

768. Paul the Deacon, *L.V.*, 8 & 14, who writes that Giza was finally sent to Sicily where she died. Hodgkin, *op. cit.*; Diehl, *L'Exarchat, etc.*, p. 200.

769. Paul the Deacon, *L.V.*, 8; *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, p. 418; Dölger, *Regesten*, No. 231; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, 109; Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

770. Diehl, *Le Monde Oriental*, p. 239, and *Exarchat de Ravenne, etc.*, p. 271; Brooks, *op. cit.*; Hartmann, *Italy under the Lombards*, in *C.M.H.*, II, 205; Bury, *op. cit.*, II, 300; Lambros, *op. cit.*, 730; Ganshof, *op. cit.*, p. 220; Guldencrone, *L'Italie Byzantine*; Hodgkin, *op. cit.*; Bréhier, in his *Vie et mort de Byzance*, p. 62, oddly maintains that Beneventum surrendered to Constantine in 663. He cites Theophanes who makes no mention of this whatsoever. He also cites Paul the Deacon, Ostrogorsky and Diehl who explicitly write that Constantine was repulsed.

mishes were involved in which most probably the imperial troops suffered some casualties.⁷⁷¹

The Emperor arrived with his forces in Naples where he rested and set about reorganizing his army. According to Paul the Deacon, our sole source, a certain Saburus,⁷⁷² one of the generals of the Emperor, had asked Constantine to entrust him with a division of the imperial army in order to make a new attempt against Beneventum. Constantine thereupon gave him 20,000 men (!) who were for the most part Neapolitans. Saburus then proceeded against Beneventum and encamped at a place known as "Forinus". Romuald marched out against him, and in the words of Paul the Deacon completely routed the enemy. Paul adds that very few imperial troops survived to reach Naples. It is reputed that when Constantine learned of the defeat he realized that he could make little progress against the Lombards and therefore turned his rage against the Romans.⁷⁷³ I do not put much credence in the source. Irrespective of the fact that Romuald's sister was held as hostage, the continuous defeats of an army in very good fighting condition in battles highly coloured by the imagination leaves me very sceptical. In all probability, as the imperial army withdrew in the direction of Naples the rearguard was set upon by the foe. I presume that Constantine was soon disillusioned with the results of his campaign and decided to abandon further operations against the Lombards and to deal with the urgent and primary objective for which he had come to the West.

771. Paul the Deacon, *op. cit.*, L.V., 9; various other Western chroniclers: Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, VI, 275; Brooks, *op. cit.*, who records that an attempt by Constantine against Capua was thwarted by the defeat he suffered at the river Calore. But this cannot be deduced from any source. As a matter of fact, Paul the Deacon clearly states that the attack occurred at a place "not far" from Beneventum; Bury, *op. cit.*, II, 301; Lambros, *op. cit.*; Ganshof, *op. cit.*

772. Hodgkin queries whether Saburus, a name which St. Martin identifies with Sabor or Shabour, is the same strategos of the Armeniakon theme who according to Theophanes (p. 348) mutinied in 666-667 against the Emperor "Constans". The Shabour of Theophanes may possibly be identified with the Saburus of Paul, although no source relates anything to this effect. At all events, since divisions of this "theme" served with Constantine, one can suppose that after the defeat of Saburus, the Emperor sent him back to the Armeniakon theme.

773. Paul the Deacon, *op. cit.*, L.V., 10-11.

Constantine believed it prudent to visit Rome before dealing with the measures to be taken for the defence of Sicily and Africa. Accompanied by a strong army detachment he departed from Naples and took the Via Appia leading to Rome.

Pope Vitalian at the head of the clergy and the Roman populace⁷⁷⁴ waited to receive him at the sixth milepost⁷⁷⁵ from Rome. Hodgkin described most impressively and imaginatively the probable reaction of the higher clergy as they waited for the arrival of the Byzantine Emperor,⁷⁷⁶ the first sovereign of the Roman Empire to visit the city after the fall of the Western Roman Empire.⁷⁷⁷

Constantine arrived in Rome on Wednesday, July 5, 663. The reasons for his visit are unknown, but he may well have wished to show that Christendom was no longer disunited and that the Martin episode was but a minor matter that did not ultimately disrupt the harmonious relationships so necessary for the internal peace of the Empire. Some have wrongly supported the contention that Vitalian submitted to pressure and indorsed the Monothelitic dogma of the Emperor.⁷⁷⁸

774. L.P., p. 343, *Vita Pope Vitalian*; Paul the Deacon, *op. cit.*, L.V., 11; *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, p. 418; *Chronicon Casinense*, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 354-355. All the Western chroniclers record the visit of the Emperor Constantine to Rome as this was reported in the *Vita* of Vitalian in the L.P.; Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens usw.*, II, 249; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom usw.*, II, 152 f.

775. It is assumed that the sixth milepost corresponds to about 10 kilometres or 46 stades. The milestone or milepost which was generally of stone marked the distance in miles to Rome.

776. Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, VI, 227, "Here is this successor of Augustus who bears by full right the title of Emperor of the Romans, and who is Greek by language, Greek by education, and who, it is to be feared, does not hold the Catholic verity in his heart, since by that arrogant Type of his he forbids us even to make mention of the Two Wills in Christ".

777. Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.* p. 109; *Homo, Rome Medievale*, p. 29.

778. Kaestner, *De Imperio Constantine III*, p. 82. There is no indication in the sources of such an indorsement. Moreover, the Pope could not indorse imperial decrees, nor was the character of Constantine such as to permit discussion of the matter. Furthermore, the Type explicitly forbade any discussion of energy and will, and Constantine certainly would not have violated the canons and rules that he himself had enacted, nor would he have tolerated any other party doing so.

Upon reaching Rome, Constantine proceeded to the church of St. Peter where prayers were said and the imperial gifts were placed on the holy altar. The Emperor then retired to the royal palace on the Palatine hill. The palace had in large part fallen into decay, but one section was always maintained in a good condition, for the Duke of Rome resided therein, and the Exarch customarily used the palace on his visits to the city.⁷⁷⁹

On Saturday Constantine visited the church of Santa Maria Maggiore to which he made other imperial gifts. On the Sunday, St. Peter's was crowded with Byzantine troops holding burning tapers in their hands. The clergy, also with candles alit, moved out to receive the imperial visitor. A grand mass was held in his presence at the end of which Constantine placed on the holy altar as a gift a gold-embroidered "pallium".⁷⁸⁰

The following Saturday the Pope entertained the Emperor at the Lateran. Dinner was provided in the basilica of St. Vigilius. On Sunday, after attending the service in St. Peter, he bade farewell to Vitalian who embraced him. Constantine had remained in Rome for a total of twelve days.

But before abandoning the city, he removed numerous items, an action for which he was understandably criticized. These included all bronze objects. The copper roofing of the Pantheon itself which had been converted into a Christian temple was not spared. Also removed were various works of art. Gregorovius maintains that he took in addition various manuscripts from the library, but no sources say as much. The sources in fact do not give any reason for the removal of the objects. I suspect that there was great need for bronze to mint copper coins with which the troops were normally paid. There existed at the time a large mint in Sicilian Syracuse,⁷⁸¹ which accounts for the fact that most of the bronze items were sent by ship to that city.⁷⁸² But the sources state that the bronze was sent to the imperial capital. Yet this does not appear to be true

779. Homo, *Rome Medievale*, p. 143.

780. A piece of white cloth on which six black crucifixes were embroidered. It was a kind of bishop's pall that was worn over the liturgical dress of the archpriests. The Western church gave much symbolic significance to it and customarily the Pope would send one to his higher clergy.

781. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial*, etc., p. XXVIII.

782. L.P., p. 346, *Vita Pope Adeodatus*.

783. L.P., p. 347, fn. 3; Amari, *Storia*, etc., I, 84 etc.

for when the Saracens invaded Sicily in 669, they found there an abundance of copper and various statues.⁷⁸³ It may be that the Emperor sent some works of art and bronze to Constantinople, but the largest portion was dispatched to Syracuse.

On July 17, 663, the Byzantines quitted Rome for the overland route to Naples. Thence they proceeded to Reggio in Calabria where they remained for an unspecified time.

Constantine reached Sicily in the Seventh Indiction,⁷⁸⁴ that is, between September 1, 663 and August 31, 664. It is my impression that he arrived in the island in the latter part of September of 663 and established himself at Syracuse.⁷⁸⁵

5

Sicily, part of ancient Magna Graecia, had not yet suffered the ravages of war. Certain historians, including Amari, have attempted to show that the island had already undergone two Arab raids. But as has been pointed out in Chapter V, such a supposition is groundless. Both 652 and 662 were years of peace with the Arabs, and a violation of the treaty by the Moslems was unthinkable.

Greek was spoken in Sicily uninterruptedly from the days of antiquity.⁷⁸⁶ In the wake of the Byzantine reoccupation of the island in the 6th Century, there followed a large influx of Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians whose presence, together with that of the military, began to alter the basic character of Sicily.⁷⁸⁷ Many refugees had flocked to the island from those areas that had been overrun by the Persians or the Arabs. Quite understandably the Greek inhabitants of Egypt, Africa and some very probably

784. The Indiction was a cycle of 15 years. It was used to calculate the annual land tax which was in force for a 15-year period (Grumel, *La Chronologie*, pp. 192 f.). The Indiction began on September 1st and expired on August 31st. The dating with Indictions of public documents was made mandatory by Justinian I (Novel 47).

785. L.P., pp. 343 f.; the Western chroniclers who use the L.P.; Ostrogorsky, op. cit.; Hodgkin, op. cit.; Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 394 f.; Bury, op. cit.; Lebeau, op. cit.; Homo, op. cit.; Hartmann, op. cit.

786. Charanis, *On the Question of the Hellenization*, etc.

787. Orsi, *Bizantina Siciliae*; Bréhier, *Les Colonies des Orientaux*, etc.

from Syria, fled to the safety of nearby Sicily.⁷⁸⁸ Charanis on the other hand proposes that these refugees did not originate from Arab-occupied lands but were from Greece proper, particularly from the Peloponnese after the Avar invasions, the capture of Patras, and the occupation of the eastern Peloponnese by the Slavs.⁷⁸⁹ This matter has been dealt with in detail in Chapter VII. Again I should make the point that I believe Charanis to be mistaken in his theory. Irrespective of this, however, the distinguished historian contends that not a single Greek or Arab source remarks that those who fled from the Eastern provinces went to the West. It is his view that they most probably migrated to Asia Minor. I admit that no source in fact refers to the movements of these refugees, but reason convinces me that the Greek inhabitants of Africa, of the Pentapolis, and probably Alexandria, where most of those residing in Egypt had flocked, would move to Sicily by virtue of its geographical proximity and by the fact that it lent itself easily to settlement. The Arab chroniclers (Baladhuri, etc.) inform us that the depopulated areas of Syria and Egypt were indeed extensive. It is certain that by far the greatest numbers who fled from Syria would proceed to Asia Minor, but some of them moved to the West.

Yet it appears that in the middle of the 7th Century, Sicily had been completely hellenized. This hellenization was not limited to the island alone, but extended across the straits to the areas opposite. This did not come about by a sudden growing influence of Byzantium or of the Greek element, but was due to a deeper movement that radically altered the population and the language. There is no doubt that the major process of hellenization took place in the year when Constantine and his court were in Sicily. In Syracuse the Bishop had for long been a Greek. The Latin element in the island and in Calabria gradually gave way and by the end of the 7th Century, these areas had become thoroughly Greek both linguistically and intellectually.⁷⁹⁰

788. Gelzer, *Short History of Byzantium*, p. 323; Gay, *Notes sur la crise*, etc.; Lynn, *The Byzantinization*, etc.

789. Charanis, *op. cit.*, and *On the Question of the Slavonic Settlements*. According to Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, etc. p. 19, some individuals may have emigrated, but he precludes the possibility of a mass movement of the population of the Peloponnese elsewhere.

790. Gay, *op. cit.*; Bréhier, *Les Colonies*, etc.; Orsi, *op. cit.*; Lynn, *op. cit.*

Immediately following his installation in Syracuse, Constantine applied himself to the task of reorganizing and preparing the defences of Africa and of the Western basin of the Mediterranean.

From Sicily the Emperor sent an order to the imperial capital that his wife and his three sons join him. The precise date of this request is unknown, but in any case, it could not have been until his establishment in Sicily.⁷⁹¹ As soon as the message was received in Constantinople a great outcry arose, especially from the populace. The cubicularius and strategos Andrew with the patricius Theodore of Colonea and the Demes prevented any move to the West on the part of the royal family.⁷⁹²

791. Theophanes, p. 348; Cedrenus, p. 762; George the Monk, p. 717; Zonaras, III, 316; Glycas, p. 520; Agapius, p. 230/490; Michael the Syrian, III, 446; Chronicle of 1234. The information that he wished to take his wife and sons with him when leaving Constantinople is groundless. The sources are very explicit. It was only after his installation in Sicily that he sent for his family.

792. Theophanes, p. 351; All the preceeding chroniclers, especially Zonaras; Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 110; Bratianu, *La fin du regime des Parties*, etc; Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 395; Paparrigopoulos, III, 233.

CHAPTER X

CONFRONTATION OF THE ARAB THREAT

Constantine proceeded apace to build up the defences of the West and to render secure its lines of sea communications. He had hoped in this way to impede the further movement of the Arabs westwards.⁷⁹³ The security of Sicily depended in part upon the African continent, whereas the safety of the shipping lanes in the Western Mediterranean basin depended upon the freedom of the straits separating Sicily from that continent.⁷⁹⁴ Unfortunately we have no information on the steps that the Emperor took to bring about the defensive measures. The only concrete evidence at hand is that he made Sicily his main base of operations.⁷⁹⁵ Ganshof believes that Constantine took all the necessary steps from the strategically situated island to insure that the Arabs could not make attacks against the West by sea.⁷⁹⁶ But I do not agree with his contention, for in the year following the Emperor's death the Arabs did in fact invade and plunder Sicily. It is true that all their expeditions to the West were made overland, and with the single exception of the Sicilian incursion no other naval raid in the West had taken place in the course of the 7th Century. But this is due, I believe, not to the measures taken by Constantine, but to the fact that initially the Arabs had concentrated their efforts on continual strikes into Asia Minor, the backbone of the Empire. Moreover, their internal dissensions had slowed down military operations against the Byzantines. But most significant of all, the recent discovery of Greek fire had rendered impotent the Arab fleet for a considerable period. Bury maintains that the need for the defence of the Western part of the Empire and the security of Africa forced Constantine to establish a base in Sicily for the purpose of

793. Barker, *Justinian and the Later Roman Empire*, p. 252; Oikonomides, *Une liste Arabe*, etc.

794. Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, p. 94.

795. Kulakovski, J., *History*, Vol. III; Hodgkin, *Italy*, etc., Vol. VI.

796. Comments by Ganshof on a paper of P. Lemerle. See *Settimano di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, Vol. V, Spoleto, 1958.

impeding the further advance westwards of the Arabs. But the means at his disposal were not sufficient to fulfil this aim, and his attempts to halt the advance were unsuccessful.⁷⁹⁷

Despite all that has been written to explain Constantine's move to Sicily and his lengthy stay in the island, although the latter fact is by no means completely verified, it is my belief that the operation as conceived by the Emperor did in the last analysis fail. Without strengthening the position of Byzantium in the West, he weakened the defences of the East. Finally, within a period of less than 40 years, the whole of Africa was irretrievably lost and the remnants of the Greek and Roman world disappeared from that part of the Mediterranean.

1

A major problem confronting historians of the period concerns the fate of the Exarchate of Africa following the grand razzia that took place at the hands of the Arabs in A.D. 647-648. As pointed out in Chapter III, the information that has survived is very meagre, and derives exclusively from Arab sources which are even at best very unreliable for the period. The Byzantine chroniclers completely ignore events in Africa. After a brief reference to the rebellion of the Exarch Gregory and the Arab incursion, Theophanes notes briefly the new razzia that he places in the year after the death of Constantine which he dates in A.M. 6161 (669-670).⁷⁹⁸

It would appear that a serious breach had occurred in the relationships between the African province and Constantinople. The tendency for the distant provinces to break away from the capital contributed in no small measure to a climate of distrust. The unbending attitude of the Western Church abetted these tendencies, especially in provinces that fell ecclesiastically within the jurisdiction of Rome. Indeed there exist suspicions that the Western Church not only openly supported such movements but actually instigated seditions.⁷⁹⁹ All the church leaders of Africa sanctioned

797. Bury, *The Naval Policy*, etc.

798. Theophanes, pp. 343 and 352.

799. Diehl, *Histoire de la domination Byzantine en Afrique*, p. 566.

the official anathema against the *Ecthesis* and the *Type*. Following this, they were acclaimed by the Church of Rome as the “heralds of truth” and as the “faithful defenders of Orthodoxy”.⁸⁰⁰ Martin was condemned as the instigator of Gregory’s mutiny against imperial rule. Maximus, as pointed out in Chapter V, was considered the main party responsible for the sedition that took place in Africa which led to the subsequent Arab invasion of the province. It was reputed that Africa was until 660 a more or less independent province,⁸⁰¹ and that only following the establishment of Constantine in Sicily, hence after 663, the Empire succeeded in re-imposing control in the Exarchate.⁸⁰²

The state of the sources does not make for any conclusive arguments. One is forced to turn to supposition. Only one thing is certain, as Diehl also pointed out – the precise years when the Emperor regained control of the Exarchate are a mystery. At all events, I find it difficult to believe that in the period from 648 to 663 such an extensive and wealthy province of the Empire would be allowed to slip from imperial control. There were years within this comparatively long period in which Byzantium could have preoccupied itself with the affairs of the rich province in order to regain mastery over it, for there were certain years of peaceful co-existence with the Arabs when the latter were engrossed with their own internal affairs. Diehl’s arguments therefore appear sound and I certainly support them, yet I cannot agree with the dates proposed by certain other historians. Why and how Africa was restored to imperial rule must remain a mystery.

The Arab sources give an entirely different picture of the situation. According to Noweiri⁸⁰³ and Ibn Adhari, a certain Djenaha whom Diehl identifies with “Gennadius”,⁸⁰⁴ succeeded Gregory as the Exarch of Africa. They go on to relate that after the Arabs withdrew in 648, Heraclius sent a certain patricius by name Aulima to collect from the inhabitants of the Exarchate that amount of money which he had paid to Abdallah to vacate Africa, as a result of which they rebelled, and so on.

800. Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, pp. 147 f.

801. Bréhier, *Vie et mort de Byzance*, p. 59.

802. Gelzer, *Short History*; Hodgkin, *Italy, etc.*, VI, 280.

803. En-Noweiri, ed. and tr. de Slane; Ibn Adhari, ed. Fagnan, p. 11.

804. Diehl, *op. cit.*, pp. 566, 567, fn. 1; Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane, etc.*, p. 30.

Gennadius then appealed to the Caliph for support against Byzantium. The wholly fanciful narrative is devoid of any serious historical foundation, for Abdallah undertook his expedition in 647-648 and Heraclius had died seven years earlier!

Yet there is a grain of truth in this narrative which, in the traditional manner of the Arabs, was embellished by a colourful inventiveness and fancy.

Constantine attempted to organize the defences of Africa but was in sore need of funds. He therefore imposed a burdensome taxation on the inhabitants of both Italy and Africa.⁸⁰⁵ But more about these tax measures in the following chapter. Those responsible for the collection of the new taxes were expelled from the Exarchate by the inhabitants. The Arabs had already looted it, and now began to plunder or occupy parts of western Tripolitania and Byzacene (southeastern Tunis). The Arabs were at their very gates and yet the population of Carthage rebelled against the authorities, refusing to pay the new impositions. What precisely took place is hard to say. The inhabitants had expelled Gennadius, or the Emperor had recalled him and appointed the patricius Eleutherius in his place. The latter, with the help of the native elements of the population, succeeded in reestablishing order.⁸⁰⁶

Noweiri relates that Gennadius fled to Syria and appealed to Muawiyah (hence after A.D. 661) for help in stirring up a revolution in the Exarchate of Africa. I am convinced the Arabs had wished to exploit the turmoil in the province to conduct another lucrative razzia.

Whereas all sources agree with the identity of the leader of the new incursion, they do not agree with the rank he held (see Note XVI) nor with the date of the raid (see Note XVII).

Immediately upon the expiry of the peace treaty, the Arabs launched their assaults either in the form of a razzia or for outright conquest against western Tripolitania and the eastern part of the province of Byzacene.⁸⁰⁷

Following instructions from the Caliph Muawiyah, the commander of the expedition Muawiyah ibn-Hudayg-al-Kindi led an army into the African Exarchate. As pointed out in Note XVII, the invasion began in the 45th year of the Hegira (24 March 665 - 12 March 666).⁸⁰⁸

805. L.P., I, 344.

806. Marçais, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Audollent, *Carthage Romaine*, pp. 137, 138.

807. Caetani, *Chronographia*, p. 486; Cheira, *La lutte*, etc., p. 126.

Muawiyah ibn Hudayg was an adherent of Muawiyah who had helped the latter in his war against Ali and had defeated the various Arab chieftains sent by Ali against him, reoccupying Egypt in the process.⁸⁰⁹

Muawiyah was joined by many companions and successors of the Companions of the Prophet, including Ibn-Zubair who had taken part in the invasion of 647, Abadallah, son of the Caliph Umar, the future Caliph Abd-al-Malik⁸¹⁰ and many Qurayshites. The strength of the invading force is unknown. Kairouani⁸¹¹ says the army numbered 10,000 men. It would appear, however, that the chronicler confuses this expedition with the following of Okba who, as most Arab chroniclers report, had 10,000 horsemen with him.

Muawiyah encountered no difficulty in invading Byzacene of which the southern portion had already slipped from Byzantine control. It is reputed that the Byzantines in this region abandoned the fortresses which formerly had constituted the first line of defence of this province of the Exarchate.⁸¹² But I have my reservations concerning the report. As has been pointed out in Chapter III, the defences of Africa had been so orientated as to face potential invaders from the South and the North, and no thought had been entertained of a possible danger arising from an easterly direction. Muawiyah advanced through the region leaving a path of looted towns behind him.

Forewarned of the impending invasion, Constantine assembled an army and a fleet to dispatch to the continent. All information on the campaign unfortunately originates exclusively with the highly exaggerated accounts of the Arab chroniclers. They record⁸¹³ that the imperial army

808. Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 570; Cadel, *Les premières invasions, etc.*; Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, II, 130; Lebeau, *Histoire, etc.*, XI, 396 f.; Caetani, *Chronographia*, p. 518; Audollent, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Paparrigopoulos, *History, etc.*, p. 231; Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique, etc.*, I, 203; Julien, *Histoire, etc.*, II, 16; Marçais, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Cheira, *op. cit.*; Guiland, *Histoire administrative, etc.*, p. 18. Weil, *Geschichte usw.*, I, pp. 162, 163, citing Abd al-Hakam, dates this expedition in the 34th year of the Hegira (A.D. 654-655). Becker, in *C.M.H.*, II, 367, and Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 94, place it in 664, whereas Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 62, in 667.

809. Tabari, ed. Zotenberg, IV, 692 f., and ed. de Goeje, I, 3390 and 3413; Maqoudi, IV, 422.

810. En-Noweiri, ed. de Slane; Al Maliki, ed. Idris.

811. Kairouani, ed. Pelissier et Remusat, VII, 40.

812. Diehl, *op. cit.*, pp. 567, 568.

813. En-Noweiri, *op. cit.*; El-Bekri, ed. de Slane, pp. 75, 76; Audollent, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

numbered 30,000 men and was commanded by the patricius Nicephorus. The figure is enormous for the period, especially when bearing in mind that to transport 15,000 troops in his African campaign, Belisarius used 500 transports.⁸¹⁴

Muawiyah-ibn-Hudayg encamped at Kamunia a small distance from the site at which a few years later the town of Kairouan was to be founded. Here he learned of the disembarkation of Nicephorus at Susa, capital town of the province of Byzacene near the ruins of ancient Hadrumentum.⁸¹⁵ Muawiyah sent against him a strong detachment of cavalry led by Ibn-Zubair. What precisely followed at this stage is puzzling. En-Noweiri relates that before the Arabs were able to launch an attack against the imperial army, Nicephorus was forced to re-embark his army and to sail off. But Ibn-Khaldoun records that the Byzantines were defeated in battle. On the other hand, Ibn-Adhari writes that Nicephorus withdrew without engaging the enemy. El-Bekri also maintains that Nicephorus embarked his troops without giving battle but adds that the Arabs repulsed an attack by the garrison of the fortress city of Susa. Ibn-Adhari, moreover, states as much. It is my impression that the reinforcements sent to Africa by Constantine were inadequate and could not oppose the more formidable detachment of Zubair. Nicephorus, joined by the garrison of Susa, attacked Ibn-Zubair but was defeated.

Following this, Muawiyah moved against the fortress town of Djelula. Again the Arab chroniclers describe the fall of the strongly fortified town in a manner most fanciful.⁸¹⁶

814. Procopius, ed. Haury, *De Bello Vandalico*, I, 2. The 500 transports were escorted by 92 dromons.

815. El-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 75; Ibn Adhari, ed. Fagnan, p. 10; Mercier, *op. cit.*, I, 203; Caudel, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

816. Al-Hakam relates that Djelula was captured as the result of a miraculous occurrence. En Noweiri and Al-Maliki describe how the Arabs had besieged the town for a time but had given up all hope of taking it and began to withdraw. But when they had gone some distance, their rear-guard descried a cloud of dust rising from the town. They were then informed that a section of the walls had collapsed. Thereupon the Arabs hastily returned to the attack, gave battle to the Byzantines, then penetrated the walled defences and looted the town. El-Bekri writes somewhat similarly, but he gives the credit of the fall of Djelula to Abd-al-Malik, the later Caliph.

This expedition, too, was no more than a plundering incursion. With the exception of Djelula the fortresses which constituted the strong points of the defence of the region, successfully repelled the Arab assaults. Having looted the surrounding countryside, they withdrew to Egypt with much plunder and many captives.⁸¹⁷

2

Amari has described an incident that has been accepted as authentic by many contemporary historians. According to Theophanes,⁸¹⁸ in the year of the Creation 6155 (A.D. 663-664), the 22nd of Constans (662-663), the 8th of Muawiyah (663-664),⁸¹⁹ and the 11th of the Patriarch Peter (664-665), "a part of Sicily was plundered and the captives voluntarily settled in Damascus". The information supplied by the chronicler is strange indeed. No other source, Byzantine or Western, records the incident. Only Arab sources provide the information but it does not refer to this particular expedition. Becker accepts the Theophanes passage as sound, and adds that in 664 there took place an attack in Sicily in coordination with the expedition of Ibn Hudayg, and that the Arab fleet that participated in the invasion sailed from Barca (Ptolemais) in the Cyrenaican Pentapolis.⁸²⁰ Amari states that the attack took place in 652, and on this point amends Theophanes. According to him, the Arabs plundered areas in Sicily which they had occupied for only a month. Muawiyah (he refers to Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg) then embarked on his fleet with his plunder and captives and arrived in Syria! Caetani places the expedition in the year 45 (A.D. 665). But he writes with a question mark that Syracuse, the seat of the Emperor had been captured at that time! Obviously, he confuses this expedition with that which he describes as occurring in the 50th year (i.e. A.D. 670) and which is recorded by all the Western chroniclers and most of the Arabs.

817. Ibn-Khaldoun, I, 211; Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 571; Mercier, *op. cit.*, p. 203; Caudel, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Julien, *op. cit.*, II, 16; Marçais, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Audollent, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

818. Theophanes, p. 348.

819. As already mentioned, Theophanes does not refer to Ali as Caliph, but immediately after the murder of Uthman cites the first year of Muawiyah.

820. Becker, *The Expansion of the Saracens*, in C.M.H., II, 380. But he does not report his sources.

The Arab chroniclers do not agree with these dates. Baladhuri⁸²¹ relates that the first to invade Sicily was Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg in the reign of Muawiyah Ibn Sufyan and therefore after 662.⁸²² This piece of information is confirmed by El Kindi. Baladhuri also reports, on the basis of Wakidi, that Muawiyah did not go in person but sent Abdallah Ibn Kais. Kairouani records some invasion of Sicily occurring after the African campaign. Ibn Adhari writes somewhat the same, yet he too places it after the African expedition. But to judge by the text it would appear that the invasion described was that of the 50th year of the Hegira (A.D. 670) since idolatrous statues of gold and so on are mentioned.

The theory of Amari has been described at length in Chapter V, and that which I would again point out is that in 652 peace existed between Arab and Byzantine and nowhere is there any record of its violation.

The piece of information supplied by Theophanes is undoubtedly misleading. In 664 there was a powerful imperial army and fleet in Sicily undergoing reorganization by Constantine and it would appear reasonable to assume that these forces were able to cope with any Arab raid. Moreover, inaccuracies emerge from the text itself. It was the practice of the time, specially in the case of the non-military captives seized in the course of the *razzia*, of purchasing their release through the intervention of the state or the Churches of Constantinople and Rome, or they were sold in the slave-markets of Africa and the East. The ransom monies thus received were treated as part of the booty of which one-fifth was earmarked for the treasury of the Moslem community and the remainder was distributed among the troops who took part in the *razzia*. With this in mind, one finds it difficult to accept the report that a part of the booty namely, the captives who were settled in Damascus, and indeed "at their own free will", was not distributed in the customary manner, but was surrendered without payment. On the basis of these facts, I have reached certain conclusions. 1) Either the passage in Theophanes involves another date when the inhabitants of some Sicilian town surrendered and were allowed to choose a new place for settlement, and the chronicler erroneously records the event as having taken place in that year; or 2) most probably, that "Cilicia" should be read in the place of "Sicily". A.D.

821. Baladhuri, ed. Hitti, p. 375.

822. I say after 662 since 1) Muawiyah became Caliph in the summer of 661 and, 2) the peace between Arab and Byzantine was still in force until early 662.

823. Brooks, *The Arabs in Asia Minor*, cites the 53rd year of the Hegira.

664 falls within the period of the major Arab incursions in Asia Minor. It is reported that Tarsus was taken in the 53rd year of the Hegira.⁸²³ It could well be that in one of the numerous invasions the Arabs undertook in the period, they were given by treaty a part or a town of Cilicia, and since the Arabs wished to divest the large plain between Tarsus and Antioch⁸²⁴ of its inhabitants, they moved the population to Damascus, which would very neatly explain "at their own free will" of Theophanes. In which case, the people involved were not captives of war but were part of the removal or migration of a population.

3

Whether the Byzantines asked for a renewal or extension of the peace with the Arabs and whether the latter rejected any proposal put forth is not known.⁸²⁵ At all events, the peace treaty was not renewed. Muawiyah may well have wished to exploit the absence of the Emperor Constantine from the capital to further his conquests of parts of Asia Minor.

In 662 the frontiers between the Arabs and the Byzantines had been more or less stabilized in the Taurus of Cilicia. Arab conquests throughout the entire period of the Umayyads had never in fact extended beyond the height of Amanus.⁸²⁶ Thence it extended roughly northwards along a line that passed east of Satala and the province of Lazica.

As Ahrweiler⁸²⁷ writes, there is nothing more tedious and monotonous than a description of the Arab incursions into Asia Minor. The various sources customarily make brief reference to a raid by one or other leader, the name of whom often varies in accordance with the source. That which complicates matters more is the dating of the invasions. The different systems in use by Byzantine, Syrian and Arab do not agree; moreover, there exist such differences in the dates as supplied by the sources that it

824. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze usw.*, p. 40.

825. The Maronite chronography relates that when Muawiyah assumed power and the civil strife had ended, he declared that if the Romans desired peace they would have to surrender their arms and pay tribute. *Chronica Minora*, ed. Brooks and Chabot, p. 56, and Nöldeke, *Zur Geschichte usw.*, p. 96.

826. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze usw.*, p. 40; Lammens, *Moawia*, I, etc.

827. Ahrweiler, *L'Asie Mineure et les invasions Arabes*.

becomes extremely difficult if not impossible to reach some reasonable conclusion.

The Arab incursions were as a rule in the nature of razzias.⁸²⁸ These consisted of the actual raid, the inevitable looting, the taking of captives followed by negotiations for the release of the prisoners for a price, then a rapid withdrawal and return to Syria. Melitene in the former province of Armenia II had been converted into a base from which the invaders would set out. The main routes were through the defile of Podandus⁸²⁹ and the pass through the Adata range.⁸³⁰ The defences of the region were effectual and this accounts for the fact that the Arabs rarely succeeded in taking any major towns. Yet even in the event they did capture a large town, its occupation was usually of a temporary nature.⁸³¹

The uninterrupted raids brought chaos and economic ruin to the areas in question. One of the more serious results was the disruption of the communication routes which brought about a standstill in the transportation of goods. The impossibility of free communication resulted in the creation of a more localized and closed kind of economy and the exchange of goods was carried out on a more limited scale.

The plundering of the countryside and the seizure of peasants resulted in a general flight of the population to the towns and cities and a halt in the cultivation of the land. The extent of these economic losses to the Empire can be easily gauged. The abduction of the rural population became the main pre-occupation of the raiders since the large towns were more or less unassailable. This brought about an acute shortage of farm hands, made impossible the collection of taxes, and resulted in a deterioration of the economy of a region that was considered the very heart of the Byzantine Empire.

The defences of the area had been well organized. Three themes had

828. Leonis Imperatores *Tactica*, in Migne P.G., Vol. 107, p. 952.

829. An important site situated in a deep valley. It is today known as Botzanti or Potzanti. The road passing through the Cilician Gates forked here. One branch led to Tyana and the other towards Hieraclea and Iconium. See Ramsay, *The Historical Geography*, etc., pp. 339, 348, 351.

830. Adata, a fortress north of Germanicea (Marash) in the Taurus range which commanded the pass of Arabissus (Yarpouz) on the important route which from Caesarea led to the Euphrates (See Vol. I, p. 390).

831. Ahrweiler, *op. cit.*

already been established: the Anatolikon, the Armeniakon and the Opsikion. It is true that the organization of the themes was not yet thoroughly accomplished, nor the defensive posts as numerous as they were to eventually become. Since the Byzantines were unable to put a complete stop to the incursions, they limited themselves to the contraction of the frontiers and the infliction of the maximum possible losses on the raiders, setting up especially ambushes along the line of withdrawal of the enemy so as to free captives and to recover the spoils.⁸³² Such stratagems brought at times grievous losses to the Arabs and yielded good results. In a few years the Arabs themselves had lost their zest for such raids which not only became less profitable but involved much risk as well.

The state of the naval forces of Byzantium in this period is not known. It has been maintained that the administration of the Carabisiani fleet was set up in the reign of Constantine III which had as its duty the protection of the southern fringes of the Empire.⁸³³ The imperial fleet always existed and was distributed throughout the various harbours so as to be able to protect the freedom of navigation. But when the need arose for a large fleet, the Byzantines either built vessels in the several yards of the Empire or armed merchant ships which they used for their naval operations. Both methods of augmenting the naval force were used by Justinian and by Heraclius, the former for his expeditions against Africa and Italy, and the latter to protect the imperial coastline from Slavonic pirates and to defend Constantinople against the combined attacks of the Avars and Persians in 626.⁸³⁴ When Constantine III realized that the Arabs were beginning to build a fleet and had become a naval threat to the Empire, he hurriedly prepared a large force that eventually engaged the

832. Baladhuri, ed. Hitti, pp. 253 f.

833. Bury, *The Naval Policy*, etc.; Antoniadès-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance*, See also views of Charanis, *A Note on the Origin of the Theme*, etc.

834. In this siege, the Chagan of the Avars launched the single-strakers of the Slavs into the Golden Horn and a second squadron of these at Halae on the Bosphorus to carry the Persians from the Asiatic shore to the European. The Byzantine fleet which kept watch on the Slavic flotilla in the Golden Horn was forced to abandon its surveillance and to sail towards Halae. But Bonus, who was in command of the defence of the city, realized that the numbers of the ships were not large enough to undertake both operations simultaneously. He therefore ordered the merchant ships to be hastily armed and with these reinforced the imperial fleet. See Nicephorus, p. 18.

enemy in the action at Phoenix. Subsequently, he ordered other vessels to be launched with which he transported his army from Greece to Taranto or which escorted the large convoy to Western waters. He had available in Sicily a substantial fleet that attempted a landing in Africa and in any case hindered Arab naval activity in the West.

Some warships had remained at Constantinople and it is quite certain that the naval yards were kept busy launching new units. The fleet was essential for the defence of the capital against any possible surprise attack on the part of the Arabs. Yet I do not believe that a naval unit on the scale of the large military administrative units had been yet established in this period. In all likelihood the nucleus of a light flotilla of interceptors had been organized which was expanded eventually into a larger force during the reign of Constantine IV. I do not in the least agree that any large tactical force beyond that of the imperial Byzantine fleet existed in the period.⁸³⁵ The light interceptor squadrons, the fleet of the Carabisiani or of the "ploimaton" about which I will deal with in the next volume, made many forays and frequent attacks against minor units of the Arab fleet, but were not yet in a strong enough state to confront the bulk of the enemy naval force. Nor is the supposition correct of those who maintain that before the end of the 7th Century, this tactical force had assumed the proportions of a major administrative unit in the form of a "theme".⁸³⁶

As had been pointed out in Chapter II, when civil war broke out between Ali and Muawiyah, the prince of Armenia Hamazasp Mamikonian who had owed fealty to the Arabs renounced Arab rule and turned to Byzantium, but when Muawiyah emerged triumphant and was recognized as the official Caliph by all Arabs, he demanded in writing that the Armenians again pledge fealty to him and pay the agreed tribute. Various Armenian leaders realized they had very slender hope for assistance from the Byzantines, so replaced Hamazasp with his brother Gregory who had been living as hostage in Damascus since 655. The Armenians soon pledged their adherence to Muawiyah who in turn approved the replacement and appointed in 662 Gregory Mamikonian as the new prince of Armenia.⁸³⁷

835. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer*, pp. 22-24.

836. Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*; Antoniadès-Bibicou, *op. cit.*; Charanis, *Observations on the History of Greece*, etc.

837. *De Rebus Armeniae*, ed. Garitte, pp. 405 & 438, 439; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, etc., pp. 90, 190, 191 & 334; Canard, in *E.I.*, new ed., I, 657.

Arab sources relate that the Muslims had installed at Dvin an Arab administrator⁸³⁸ or governor. Muawiyah appointed in the 41st year (7 May 661 - April 24, 662) Abdallah-Ibn-Hatim to the position and following the death of the latter, his brother Abd-Al-Aziz-Ibn-Hatim⁸³⁹ succeeded him.

The prince of Albania Juanser also turned to the Arabs "since he saw that the Emperor of the Romans was weak". Although he could well have appealed for help in case of need to the Turkish Khazars, for he had married their chieftain's daughter a few years earlier, he preferred by treaty to pay obeisance to the ruler of the South.⁸⁴⁰

4

It is reputed that the initial incursion following the expiry of the peace treaty took place in A.D. 662. It is my impression, however, that this invasion is confused with that which took place in the following year. According to Theophanes,⁸⁴¹ in A.M. 6154 (A.D. 662-663), the 21st year of Constantine's reign (661-662), the Arabs launched a raid against Byzantium, took many captives and plundered extensive areas. Tabari⁸⁴² on the other hand relates that they marched against the Alans⁸⁴³ and the Byzantines of whom they slew many patricii (?). I cannot understand the connexion between Byzantines and Alans. Brooks admits that the expedition is identical with the one referred to by Theophanes. Yet Wellhausen with justification disputes this. According to his calculation, the year cited by Theophanes coincides with the year 974 of the Seleucids but only in the summer in which case both chronologies coincide with the 43rd year of the Hegira (A.D. 663). But on the basis of Tabari and Yakubi

838. I do not believe this to be so at that time, since by the agreement of 653 the Armenians retained a certain autonomy. It is most probable that the representative of the Caliph, the governor, in substance ruled the country.

839. Baladhuri, ed. Hitti, p. 321; Zambaur, Manuel, etc., p. 178; Laurent, op. cit., p. 338.

840. Moyses, Dasxuranci, ed. Dowsett, pp. 125, 126.

841. Theophanes, p. 348.

842. Tabari, ed. Goeje, 2, 16.

843. A nomadic Sarmatian tribe dwelling north of the Caucasus. Minorsky, *Hudud-al-Alam*, pp. 160 & 444-446.

this was the year in which Busr ben Abi Artah⁸⁴⁴ led the invasion. It is possible that there existed a danger of attack or that an incursion of Iberia (in the Caucasus) had already begun. The area was then under Arab control. It has been maintained⁸⁴⁵ that in 662-663 the Alans actually invaded Iberia and moreover occupied Buculus in Lazica. The Arabs then sent an army to help the Iberians, at which time, in addition to the Alans, they may have clashed with the Lazes who had always been under Byzantine control or had in their midst detachments of imperial troops to guard the area. Unless, of course, the Arabs advanced to Derbend⁸⁴⁶ which was formerly known as the Gate of the Alans from which may have arisen the garbled narrative of the Arab chroniclers.

In 663, the 43rd year of the Hegira (April 663-664), the summer invasion was undertaken by the Arabs under the leadership of Busr ibn Abi Artah.⁸⁴⁷ Theophanes and other Byzantine chroniclers make no mention of this year. Brooks believes that this incursion is identical to that cited by Theophanes for the year 6157 (A.D. 665). No source provides information concerning the route Busr followed and what he actually accomplished. Yakubi and certain other writers relate that the Arabs wintered in Byzantine territory. But Wakidi, as Tabari records, states that they reached the very outskirts of Constantinople itself. Tabari himself however doubts that the Arabs spent the winter on Byzantine soil. It is my impression that it was a simple reconnoitering summer incursion.

The invasions of the succeeding years present some difficulty due primarily to the conflicting chronologies encountered among the different

844. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber usw.*, p. 421; Caetani, *Chronographia*, etc., the 42nd year, para. 10, and the 43rd, para 8; Brooks, *The Arabs in Asia Minor*, p. 184. I will not deal with the peculiar interpretation of Cheira (*La lutte entre Arabes et Byzantines*, p. 113) according to which the Arabs under Busr defeated in 662 the Byzantines who had been reinforced by the Alans (?) and that this expedition was undertaken to impede the return of the Byzantines to Armenia!

845. Peeters, *La version arménienne de l'historien Socrate*.

846. See Vol. I, p. 395 (the entry Derbend) and p. 411, Tzour (Djur).

847. Tabari, ed. Goeje, 2, 27; Yakubi, 285; Ibn Al Athir, III, 356; Elie Bar Sinaya, ed. Delaporte, p. 89; Eliae Nisibensi, ed. Brooks, p. 68; Agapius, p. 488; Baethgen, *Fragmente Syrischer usw.*, for the year 974 (A.D. 663); Bury, *op. cit.*, II, 306; Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 484; Kulakovski, *History, etc.*, III, 232; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

chroniclers. Theophanes relates that in A.M. 6156 (664-665), Abd-al-Rahman, son of Khalid (Abd-al-Rahman ben Khalid ben Walid),⁸⁴⁸ mounted a strong force against the Empire. He spent a winter there and plundered many countries. But the Arabs present a different picture of the raid. According to their narrative, the invasion occurred in the 44th year of the Hegira (April 664 - March 665), and the campaign continued through the 45th year, the invading force not withdrawing until the 46th year (March 666-667).⁸⁴⁹ This military operation becomes even more perplexing with the information supplied by Syrian chroniclers who relate that Abd-al-Rahman undertook two invasions of Asia Minor, in the 44th and the 46th years, and in both cases wintered in Byzantine territory.⁸⁵⁰ Wellhausen rightly rejects the possibility of an interruption and a resumption of the same invasion and believes that the campaign opened in 665, and that Abd-al-Rahman returned to Emesa in the 46th year of the Hegira. One could perhaps agree with Wellhausen's views if the information supplied by Abul Fedae did not exist. It states that the son of Khalid was poisoned and died in Emesa in the 45th year of the Hegira.

At all events, whether it began in 664 or in 665, Abd-al-Rahman, governor of Emesa (Homs), invaded Asia Minor with a large army, crossed the Taurus through the Adata pass or via the defile of Podandus, and reached Colonea⁸⁵¹ which he most probably occupied and in which he wintered. In the Spring of 665 (Wellhausen prefers the Spring of 666) he advanced to Amorium which surrendered. He there established a

848. Son of the famous generalissimo of the Arabs from 634 to the battle of Yarmuk (636) who was surnamed the "sword of God".

849. Tabari, II, 67; Yakubi, II, 285; Ibn-al-Athir, III, 368.

850. Eliae Nisibensi, p. 69; Elie Bar Sinaya, p. 89. The *Chronica Minora*, ed. Chabot, and ed. Nöldeke, describe this expedition as following that of Yazid against Constantinople which the Arab chroniclers place in the 50th year (670). At all events, they record that the invasion by Abd-al-Rahman began in 975 (A.D. 664), the 22nd year of Constantine (662-663). The *Chronicon Maroniticum* (which is the same as the *Chronica Minora* of Brooks and Chabot); Baethgen, op. cit., says the year 975 or the 44th of the Hegira and 977 or the 46th.

851. Colonea, the ancient Archelais founded by Archelaos. It was subsequently renamed Garsaira of Cappadocia, and is the modern Ak Serai. It lies on the highway leading to Caesarea. It was the seat of a bishop. See Ramsay, op. cit., p. 284.

garrison.⁸⁵² Rahman also occupied Pisinounda of Galatia (near Justinianopolis, the modern Sevri Hissar), Kios, Pergamos, and reached the very outskirts of Smyrna. He moreover laid siege to Sillyum⁸⁵³ but failed to capture it. Yakubi and Tabari report that Abd-al-Rahman advanced even as far as Pisidian Antioch.⁸⁵⁴

It is impossible to delineate the moves and the general routes taken by the Arabs in this particular expedition. The Byzantines supply absolutely no information. The Arabs mention only the towns of Colonea and Pisidian Antioch. The information on other towns is supplied by Syrian chroniclers, but in the latter case I suspect that the source is one original narrative which was copied by various subsequent chroniclers who added what in their view was lacking in the original.

Theophanes states that 5,000 Slavs turned to Abd-al-Rahman and joined his forces in the year A.M. 6156 (664-665), the 23rd of Constantine (663-664). These Slavs had been settled in Asia Minor by Constantine III after his campaign in "Sclavinia" (See Chapt. VII). We do not know where precisely they had been settled nor the reasons that made them take such a step. Theophanes⁸⁵⁵ goes on to relate that Muawiyah moved the Slavs to Syria, specially to the small market-town of Seleucia ad Belum in the Apamea region of Syria.⁸⁵⁶

852. Amorium was one of the largest cities of Asia Minor (Charanis, *The Demography*, etc.). It was recovered after the departure of Abd-al-Rahman. I fear that the Syrian sources which are the only to refer to the occupation of Amorium, confuse this expedition with the invasion of Yazid at which time Amorium was taken. It would seem highly improbable for such a powerful fortress city of Asia Minor to change hands so frequently and easily within a short period of years. Amorium was then the capital city of the Anatolikon theme. See Brooks in *C.M.H.*, II, 396. In any case, the Syrians date the surrender of Amorium in the year 975 (A.D. 664), the 44th - 45th of the Hegira.

853. Sillyum was a town and seat of the bishop of Pamphylia. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 420. According to Honigmann, *Synecdemus of Hierocles*, 679, 3, it is the present Asarkoy. It was subsequently incorporated into the Cibyrraeote theme. See Constantine Porphyrogennetus, *De Them.*, ed. Pertusi, XIV, 23, p. 78. Cheira, p. 116, erroneously places it in Paphlagonia.

854. Honigmann, *Synecdemus*, etc., 372, 2; Ramsay, *op. cit.*, 396. Augustus founded this colony which soon became an important crossroad.

855. Theophanes, p. 348.

856. Dussaud, *Topographie*, etc., pp. 155 f. Seleucia ad Belum or Seleucia on the Orontes is a short distance west of the Syrian town Apamea.

Tabari records that in the same period Abd-al-Rahman undertook his campaign, and especially in the 44th year, Busr (or Busur) made an advance into the provinces of Asia Minor. I found no substantiation of this claim in any serious source. Theophanes, for the year 6157 (665-666), the 24th of Constantine (664-665), briefly mentions that Busr marched against the Empire. In view of the fact that Abd-al-Rahman had penetrated deeply into Byzantine territory in that year, it is quite possible that the expedition was conducted by sea. If therefore this expedition is factual, then most probably it was in the nature of a piratical raid and no more. Unless, of course, Busr was carrying reinforcements to the army of Abd-al-Rahman in which case the latter's march to the seacoast can be explained.

Abd-al-Rahman returned⁸⁵⁷ to Emesa with much plunder and particularly with a much enhanced reputation which made of him an especially popular hero amongst the Arabs. He was in fact a fine warrior who at the early age of 18 years led an Arab troop in the battle of Yarnuk. He was among the first to support the faction of Muawiyah in the struggle for the succession to Uthman's throne. Many had maintained that in the event of the death of Muawiyah the most likely to succeed him was Abd-al-Rahman. Arab sources, according to the tradition, record that Muawiyah, fearing lest in the event of his death,⁸⁵⁸ Abd-al-Rahman who enjoyed such great fame and reputation, would emerge as a dangerous rival to his son Yazid, arranged to have him poisoned at the hands of a Christian doctor named Ibn Utal in the 45th or 46th year of the Hegira. Lammens questions the reliability of this information.⁸⁵⁹

857. The problem of Rahman's return to Emesa is directly related with the time of his departure. Wellhausen correctly rejects the attempts of contemporary historians to prove that he had interrupted his first expedition and returned the following year, or that he had spent two winters in imperial territory. The only reasonable answer therefore would be that he left in the early part of the 44th year and returned at the close of the 45th, at which time he would be back in Emesa in the opening days of the 46th year which commence on the 13th of March 666. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 421, 422; Brooks, in *C.M.H.*, II, 396; Bury, *op. cit.*, II, 306; Cheira, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 116.

858. The succession in the early period of the Caliphate was not hereditary, but the Caliph had to be chosen by those possessing the right to select. See also Chapter VI.

859. For the chronology of the death of Abd-al-Rahman see the relevant bibliography in Caetani, *Chronographia*, the 46th year, para. 5. Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne de Moawia Ier*; Gibb, in *E.I.*, new ed., Vol. I, pp. 87, 88.

Concerning the summer invasion of A.D. 666, the sources do not agree on the name of the commander.

Theophanes states that in the years 665 and 666, Busr invaded the Empire and spent the winter together with Fadalah in the region of the Hexapolis. Theophanes himself adds that Fadalah spent the winter of 667-668 in the Hexapolis area. I suspect that Theophanes confuses the issue by recording the same event twice. Busr was in all probability in Byzantine territory in 665 but as has been pointed out he either made a raid by ship or simply transported troop reinforcements for Abd-al-Rahman. Other names are supplied by the Arab chroniclers⁸⁶⁰ as, for example, Malik ibn Abdallah al-Katani who in the 46th year (March 666 - March 667) invaded the Empire by way of the Adata pass and on his return halted at Rahwah Malik near Adata where he made a distribution of the spoils. The Syrians give another version and other names. The sources generally are so perplexing that it is extremely difficult to unravel what precisely took place. It is my impression that Malik (but which Malik?) crossed into the Empire through the Adata pass in the Autumn of the 46th year of the Hegira, hence in 666, and in all likelihood wintered with Abd al-Rahman al Kaini in the region of Antioch (of Pisidia?), then withdrew in the early part of the 47th year (3 March 667 - 19 February 668), and therefore in March or April of 667.⁸⁶¹

5

An event of supreme importance has given rise to much controversy. This concerns the rebellion of Saborius, strategos of the Armeniakon theme, and the consequent major Arab invasion culminating in the reputed siege of Constantinople itself. The sources are most conflicting concerning the chain of events. Not only is the chronology inconsistent throughout,

860. Yakubi, II, 285; Tabari, II, 82; Baladhuri, p. 298. Baethgen says the 47th year, but he associates it with the year of the appointment of Muawiyah ibn Hudayg as governor of Egypt. As has been pointed out in the first paragraph, Ibn Hudayg was never the governor of that province.

861. Theophanes, p. 348; Eliae Nisibensi, p. 69; Tabari, II, 82-84; Yakubi, II, 285; Baladhuri, p. 298; Cheira, op. cit., pp. 116, 117; Caetani, op. cit., for the 46th and 47th years; Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 396.

but the entire narrative is presented in different accounts that are totally incompatible. So extreme are the variations that one may well ask whether the numerous isolated events were not eventually compressed so as to form a single historical event. I will here relate the different accounts, then present my theories and observations and attempt to find some reasonable answer to the confusing puzzle.

I. The Greek versions.⁸⁶² Theophanes records that in A.M. 6159 (667-668), the 26th of Constantine's reign (A.D. 667),⁸⁶³ the 12th of Muawiyah (667-668), and the 3rd of the Patriarch Thomas (?),⁸⁶⁴ Saborius⁸⁶⁵ the strategos of the Armeniakon theme rebelled against the "Emperor Constans". The Syrian sources all agree with the Greek dates 977 (A.D. 666) including the year of Constantine as recorded by Theophanes, that is, the 26th year (667). In their edition of Michael the Syrian, Peeters⁸⁶⁶ and Chabot identify the insurgent with a certain Pasagnathis, patricius of the Armeniakon theme who, according to Theophanes, mutinied in 651-652. As pointed out in Chapter II, no such insurrection had ever taken place. Saborius had sent his general (turmarh) Sergius to Muawiyah with a promise that if the latter would ally himself

862. Theophanes, pp. 348 f. The Theophanes version is repeated nearly word for word by the Syrians Michael the Syrian, II, 451 f., Abul Faraj Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicum Syriacum*, ed. Bruns-Kirsch, p. 113 and the Wallis Budge edition as well as the Anonymous Chronicle of 1234. Moreover, Agapius, 229/489 contains the latter part of the story. Cedrenus, p. 763, refers only to the last part of the incident. The Synopsis Sathas, pp. 111 f., relates the entire incident but not with the details of Theophanes.

863. The view of Brooks (*The Sicilian Expedition*, etc.) is odd indeed. He states that A.M. 6159 is the year A.D. 668 and that the 26th of Constantine's reign is also 668. Constantine was proclaimed co-Emperor at the end of September 641 and was sole ruler from January 642. Hence the 26th year corresponds to either September 666 - September 667 or January 667 - January 668. Brooks apparently deliberately miscalculates the date in order to support his inaccurate assumptions.

864. It is my impression that Theophanes has erred in the chronology, for, as will be pointed out in my observations, this incident could have taken place only in the years 667-668, and therefore the 1st or 2nd of Thomas. It should be noted that Theophanes records as the first year of Thomas A.M. 6157, whereas in actual fact it is A.M. 6159 (A.D. 667-668).

865. As stated in the previous chapter, fn. 772, a strategos by name Saborius accompanied the Emperor Constantine. This may well be the same person.

866. Peeters, Pasagnathis, etc.; Chabot in Michael the Syrian, II, p. 451, fn. 9.

with Saborius, he would help him to occupy Byzantium. When Constantine, son of the Emperor, had learned of this, he sent his cubicularius Andrew, who was a eunuch but a renowned soldier,⁸⁶⁷ to Muawiyah with many gifts and a request from the Emperor that the Arab leader not support the insurrectionist. Then follows an elaborate narrative of the meetings between Muawiyah, Andrew and Sergius, for which see Note XVIII. At these meetings, Juanser, prince of Albania, was in all likelihood present. According to Moyses Dasxurançi, Juanser supported the Byzantines and for this reason the Greeks were grateful to him. It is worth noting that the Armenian prince had visited Damascus only once, in 667.⁸⁶⁸ Andrew returned to Byzantine territory, whereas Muawiyah concluded an agreement with Sergius concerning the further action. Fadalah ben Ubayd was selected as the Arab leader who would come to the assistance of Saborius.

Andrew reached Arabissus by way of Melitene. The commander of this strategic pass (the clesurarch) had not joined the faction of Saborius.⁸⁶⁹ Andrew instructed him to lie in wait for Sergius, and to carry him in chains to the town of Amnesia⁸⁷⁰ whether he had retired. From that town he sent news to Constantine of the latest developments.

When Constantine (always the son of the Emperor in this particular episode) learned that Fadalah was marching to the support of Saborius, he sent the patricius Nicephorus with an army to attack Saborius.⁸⁷¹ The

867. Michael the Syrian, II, 452; Abul Faraj, p. 100; Chronicle of 1234, p. 220.

868. Moyses Dasxuranci, ed. Dowsett, p. 127.

869. Arabissus was an ancient town, the birthplace of the Emperor Maurice. It is the modern Yarpuz. In that period it was of considerable strategic importance since it dominated one of the Taurus passes. It belonged administratively to the Armeniakon theme.

870. A town of Cappadocia of which the location is unknown. See Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, etc., p. 312 and p. 278, the last footnote. Tourneur, *L'Exapolis*, etc.

871. I do not believe the information to be absolutely correct. Fadalah was much closer to the rebel army of Saborius than were the forces of Constantinople. Moreover, by the time Andrew reached Byzantine territory, notified Constantine, assembled the army, and marched in the direction of Caesarea, a considerable period would have elapsed in which the Arabs would have already reached the Armeniakon theme. I rather think that the army had already been sent and with the signal from Andrew was able to take immediate action.

latter had abandoned his seat at Caesarea and installed himself in Adrianopolis of the Hexapolis,⁸⁷² where he began to train his troops for the expected battle. But one day his horse bolted and threw him against the gate of the walls whereupon he died. The death of Saborius spelt the death of the rebellion and all those who had initially joined the insurgents rehabilitated themselves with the Byzantine authorities. When Fadalah reached the Hexapolis (?)⁸⁷³ and learned of the death of Saborius and of the dissolution of his army, he installed himself there and awaited for further urgent instructions and reinforcements from Muawiyah, "for the Romans now are in harmony". Muawiyah thereupon dispatched his son Yazid with "a multitude of barbarians". Yazid and Fadalah plundered the area as far as Chalcedon, "taking many captives". On their return march they seized Amorium where they installed a garrison of 5,000 men. With the arrival of Winter (the raid, therefore, took place in the Summer) the cubicularius Andrew recaptured Amorium and slew all the Arabs therein, "not sparing even a single one". In that same Winter, Edessa was struck by a great flood.

Such is the Byzantine version of the Saborius affair which had as a result the advance of the Arabs under the leadership of Yazid and Fadalah as far as Chalcedon. On the basis of this narrative, the rebellion took place in the Autumn of 667. Fadalah spent the Winter of 667-668 in the Hexapolis. Yazid arrived hither in the middle of the Spring of 668, and the raid as far as Chalcedon took place towards the end of the Spring and the

872. The Hexapolis is a region of Asia Minor most probably in Phrygia. See Ramsay, *op. cit.*, 142. Tournour points out that this concentration of six cities is not confirmed by any other source. Eustathius, *Opuscula* (in Miller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, II, 341, 342), states that Armenia III contained six cities. There have survived commerciarial seals of lower Hexapolis of the year 711. Tournour therefore concludes that in this instance is meant the region round Arabissus since Melitene is referred to as in Lower Hexapolis.

873. Agapius, p. 229/449 and the Anonymous Chronicle of the year 1234 do not mention Hexapolis but Melitene. It is my impression that Melitene was too far from Hadrianopolis for Fadalah to learn so soon of the death of Saborius and the dissolution of his army. Theophanes, moreover, p. 348, writes that Fadalah wintered in Hexapolis. Tabari, II, 86, records that in the year of Yazid's attack, Fadalah spent the winter in imperial territory (see also Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 534). Eliae of Nisibis, p. 69, for the 49th year writes that Fadalah wintered in the land of the Romans.

early part of the Summer of 668. Amorium fell in the Summer of 668 and was retaken by the Byzantines in the same year.⁸⁷⁴

At all events, the chroniclers who use this version place the rebellion of Saborius and the advance of Yazid as far as Chalcedon before the murder of Constantine III, and at a time when the heir and Co-Emperor, also named Constantine, was in the imperial capital.

II. The Arab chroniclers who, moreover, recorded the events long after they had actually taken place, have an entirely different story to relate. They make no reference to the Saborius insurrection, nor to the help sought from Muawiyah. According to Tabari (II, 86), in the 49th year of the Hegira (9 February 669 - 28 January 670), hence in 669, between the numerous raids and winterings in Asia Minor, as for example of Malik ibn Hubaira, Fadalah ibn Ubaid, Abdallah ibn Khurz, and Yazid ibn Shagare, there took place in that year an invasion led by Yazid, son of Muawiyah, who advanced as far as Constantinople.⁸⁷⁵ With Yazid were the Companions of the Prophet Ibn Abbas, Ibn Umar, Ibn al-Zubair, and Abu Ayub al-Ansari.

Yakubi (II, 271, 272) on the other hand records that in this year Fadalah conducted the raid in which many captives were taken.

Ibn al-Athir (III, 381, 382) writes in addition to what Tabari states, whom he at all events uses as a primary source, that in the 49th year, and some say the 50th, Muawiyah sent Sufyan ibn Awf into the country of the Romans to conduct a razzia. Though the narrative is a bit garbled, one can deduce that Muawiyah commanded his son Yazid to take part in the raid, but the latter refused. In the course of the incursion, the men suffered from lack of food and from much illness. Then Muawiyah ordered Yazid to proceed to the help of the weakened army, giving him a large force

874. These dates are accepted by Paparrigopoulos, p. 232; Bury, II, 306, who places the entire episode in 668; Brockelmann, *Histoire des peuples*, etc., pp. 70, 71; Hertzberg, who also dates the event in 668; Gelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 321; Kyriakides, *Byzantine Studies*, p. 292; Dölger, *Regesten*, No. 235; and Laurent, *L'Arménie*, etc., p. 194, but who dates the rebellion of Saborius in A.D. 666.

875. It should be noted that when Tabari says, "they reached as far as Constantinople", he does not mean that they crossed the Bosphorus and encamped before the walls. Thus for the year 43 Tabari relates that Busr (the Busr of Theophanes) reached Constantinople whereas, as has been pointed out in the preceding paragraph, this was but a reconnoitering raid.

amongst whom were the Companions of the Prophet, and together they advanced across Roman territory as far as Constantinople. They gave bloody battle to the Byzantines for several days then withdrew to Syria.

Maçoudi (V, 62, 63) records that in the 45th year (665-666) or the 51st of the Hegira (671), Muawiyah sent an army under Sufyan with orders to advance as far as Tyana.⁸⁷⁶ But the army suffered heavy casualties and there was much mourning. Muawiyah commanded his son to march into the imperial domain. With Sufyan, Yazid advanced as far as the walls of Constantinople.

Eliae Nisibenis, p. 70, dates the invasion of Yazid as far as the capital in the 51st year of the Hegira (A.D. 671). Baethgen, using Arab sources, does likewise. These two sources derive from a common Arab source and should not be treated separately. Al Makin (p. 52) places it in the 52nd year (672). All date the attack with the death of Abu Ayub who was buried near the walls of Constantinople. In the 15th Century, Mohammed II erected a large mosque in his memory. But Ayub died in the 52nd year of the Hegira⁸⁷⁷ and could not therefore have been buried near the capital before the 52nd year of the Hegira.⁸⁷⁸

From the above information one can conclude that there existed an Arab tradition which related that the Arabs under Yazid, son of

876. Ancient well-fortified town of Cappadocia, metropolitan see of Cappadocia. II, and capital of the subsequent theme of Cappadocia.

877. Abu Ayub al-Ansari was a Companion of the Prophet. He participated in many expeditions including that against Constantinople with Yazid. He died of the dysentery in the 52nd year of the Hegira. But his death is variously dated in the 50th, the 51st and 55th year of the Hegira. He was buried under the walls of Constantinople, according to the story, at his own request, but this has only survived as an oral tradition. In 1458 a large mosque was erected at the site where he was supposedly buried. Levi Provençal and Huart, in *E.I.*, new ed., I, 112; Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

878. This version of the Yazid raid in the 45th year of the Hegira is supported by Brooks, *C.M.H.*, II, 396, 397; Canard, *Les Expéditions des Arabes*, etc., who records the various legends involving the burial of Ayub and the miraculous discovery of his grave; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 422, 423, who strives to reconcile the chronology of Theophanes with that of the Arabs; Lammens, *La Syrie*, I, 69; Cheira, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 201; Muir, *The Caliphate*, p. 314, but in the 50th year of the Hegira; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, I, 294. Caetani cites the 48th year (668) which the Byzantine tradition records, and yet the 49th year in accordance with the Arab tradition when the attack against Constantinople took place.

Muawiyah, undertook a raid that penetrated as far as Chalcedon or Constantinople. But there appears to be no agreement among the sources as to the chronology of the raid which varies between the 45th year of the Hegira (665) and the 52nd (A.D. 672).

III. A third version has also survived. The Maronitic Chronicle⁸⁷⁹ relates that in the year (here there is unfortunately a lacuna) Yazid advanced and set up camp in Thrace.⁸⁸⁰ Therein is recorded a whole series of detailed events provided by a highly imaginative Maronite chronicler. Among these is included a great battle before a gate of the city at the end of which Yazid forces the Byzantines to shut themselves behind the safety of the walls, whereas Andrew (it gives no further information on this person) is wounded by arrows. As Wellhausen also adds, the chronicle unfortunately does not cite the year for these events. But in the next passage, indicating presumably the following year, it cites 975 (A.D. 664), the 22nd of Constantine (662-663), and the 7th of Muawiyah (662-663), and describes at great length the entire expedition of Abd-Al-Rahman ibn Khalid. As has been pointed out in the previous paragraph, this invasion did in fact take place in 664 or 665, the 22nd or 23rd year of Constantine. Nöldeke observes that the son of the absent Emperor, the acting Co-Emperor Constantine, was in the capital at the time. But the text provides no such information. He also notes that the Syrian chronicler dates this particular invasion five years earlier. But in that case, and in view of the fact that the next year mentioned is the 23rd of Constantine, we would arrive at the 26th of Constantine (i.e. A.D. 666-667) and consequently under no circumstances can the source be used to support the argument of those who maintain that the Yazid invasion took place in 669 or 670.

The *Continuatio Isidorianae*⁸⁸¹ says that Muawiyah, ruler of the Saracens, sent 100,000 troops under his son Yazid against Constantinople which was besieged throughout the Spring. Then he lifted the siege and

879. Brooks edition; Latin translation by Chabot, German by Nöldeke (*Zur Geschichte der Araber usw.*), French translation by Nau, *Opuscles Maronites*.

880. Canard very aptly notes that there is nowhere mention of an Arab fleet that could transport troops from the Asiatic shore to Thrace. Cheira very conveniently resolves the problem by suggesting that the Arabs were moved across on rafts.

881. *Continuatio Isidorianae*, *Byzantina-Arabica*, para. 26, ed. Mommsen, M.G.H., *Auctores Antiquissimi*, XI, 1.

returned to Damascus. Nowhere is there any reference to the Saborius episode. It places this expedition after the murder of Constantine III and dates it in the 20th (?) year of Muawiyah's reign.

Such are the three versions that have survived concerning the insurrection of Saborius, the invasion of the Arabs under Yazid and the siege (?) of Constantinople.

Before setting out my own impressions, certain observations are called for.

I The versions and the chronologies cited by each source for the event and the invasion in question are so conflicting that one may well ask whether the chroniclers are referring to the same events.

II Arab chroniclers nowhere mention the Saborius insurrection. It is assumed that the Arab invasion took place to aid the rebellious Saborius. Yet why is he ignored by the Arab sources? It is certainly true that the Arab chroniclers post-date the Byzantines and are more or less contemporaries of the Syrian historians. Tabari and Yakubi are of the latter half of the 10th Century, Ibn al-Athir flourished in the 13th, Abul Fedae and Mirkhond wrote in the 15th Century. On the other hand Theophanes flourished in the first quarter of the 9th Century. The nearest contemporary to the events is the Syrian chronicler who provides the details of the meeting between Muawiyah, Andrew and Sergius. Most probably it was the same chronicler who was to write details of the actions of Leo III and of Maslamah in 717.⁸⁸² It follows therefore that this scribe must have lived in about the first quarter of the 8th Century. We thus have the Byzantine and Syrian chroniclers who describe the revolution of Saborius in detail and the ensuing invasion by Yazid to the outskirts of Constantinople, and on the other hand the Arab chroniclers who record the expedition of Yazid as simply another annual incursion into Byzantine territory.

III Neither Byzantine nor Arab source records anything concerning a siege of Constantinople. Nor is any mention made of a fleet without which the Arabs could not possibly have crossed into Europe. How then can the information supplied by the Maronite Chronicle be explained? The Chronicle mentions as a final event the expedition of Abd al-Rahman in 664-665. Can, therefore, this Chronicle with its jumbled

882. Theophanes, pp. 386 f.

chronology be possibly more reliable than the narrative of Theophanes and the traditions that survive in the Arab sources?

IV It has been maintained that the rebellion of Saborius occurred at a time when the heir to the throne Constantine was in Constantinople, whereas the invasion by Yazid took place after the murder of Constantine III. I do not believe one should rely too much on the vacillations of Theophanes who speaks of the son of the Emperor and the Emperor indiscriminately, as he does with the year 6118 when the supposed meeting took place at Constantinople between the son of Heraclius and Sahrbaraz, general of the Persians. He refers to Constantine II sometimes as the "son of the Emperor" and other times as "the Emperor". In 668, just as in 627, the "sons of the Emperor" were Co-Emperors and therefore "monarchs". Thus the interchanging of phraseology on the part of Theophanes has no special significance. Constantine IV had been proclaimed Co-Emperor as early as 654 as has been pointed out, and Theophanes is therefore justified in referring to him as the monarch. Thus both Brooks and Wellhausen mistakenly strove to draw conclusions from this indiscrimination of titles as used by Theophanes.

V Both Theophanes and other Byzantine as well as Syrian chroniclers explicitly state that Saborius revolted "against the Emperor Constans". Hence, when Saborius rebelled, Constantine III was yet alive and therefore the insurrection could not have taken place after 668. Brooks and Wellhausen noted this detail and despite the specific dating of the Arab chroniclers have attempted to place the rebellion of Saborius in 668 and the invasion of Yazid in 669.

VI The Byzantines record as leader of the expedition Fadalah, whereas the Arabs state Sufyan Ibn Awf. Both Yakubi and Tabari write that in the 49th year (A.D. 669) Fadalah marched out and took many captives but in the expedition in which Yazid participated the general commander is explicitly mentioned as Sufyan.

VII There is yet another piece of information relating to the Yazid incursion. Yakubi (II, 258) states that in the 56th year of the Hegira (November 675-676) Yazid, the son of Muawiyah, advanced with his army as far as Constantinople. Eliae Nisibensi and Baethgen, using the same Arab source, maintain that the expedition by Yazid occurred in 988 (A.D. 676-677), the year of the Greeks, and in the 57th year of the Hegira (676-677), and that he wintered in the land of the Romans.

Cedrenus, p. 765, records that in the 8th year of Constantine IV (675-676), the Arab fleet laid siege to Constantinople. Could it be that some minor siege did in fact take place, giving rise to the tradition that Yazid had once unsuccessfully besieged Constantinople? At all events, there is no information from any source indicating as much.

VIII All Byzantine and Syrian sources, with the exception of the Maronitic chronicle, record the mutiny of Saborius and the expedition of Yazid as occurring before the death of Constantine III which took place, on the basis of the only extant official source, in July 668 or 669.

Such in brief are the observations that lead me to certain conclusions.

There is no doubt that Theophanes is most unreliable for this particular period. Only when one uses contemporary sources can he be referred to for supplementary verification. He resented Constantine III and this hatred often led him to exaggerations that bear no relationships to reality. Yet if he is so unreliable, what must one say for the Arab chroniclers whose imaginations carried them to the wildest of extremes. Moreover, they do not use the fundamental sources of contemporaries to the events, but rely on the oral traditions and hearsay which had come down to them.

In this instance Theophanes wrote using as his source a chronicle or a narrative left by a contemporary of the events. The details which he supplies and which, with minor variations, are provided by the Syrian chroniclers, are convincing enough on the surface at least, certainly as far as this particular episode is concerned, and one may therefore depend upon him.

Saborius, military governor of the Armeniakon theme, "mutinied against the Emperor Constans",⁸⁸³ therefore the insurrection must have

883. The reasons for the rebellion are unknown. It may well be that his failure in 663 in the area of Nicopolis, and as governor of the theme his inability to cope with the advance of Abd-al-Rahman in 664 or 665-666 had some bearing on the matter. He may have feared that his lack of success would have adverse affects on his position and rank. Or he may have believed the time ripe for a movement for autonomy with the absence of the Emperor in the West and the rather weak state of the imperial government. Unfortunately, the great families of Armenia never displayed much faith in Byzantium. Many had mutinied or had from time to time attempted to acquire a certain independence from imperial control.

occurred before the death of Constantine III. Then must follow the wintering of the Arabs in imperial territory and their awaited reinforcements. On these points, irrespective of the chronology and the recording or ignoring of the rebellion of Saborius, and the dating of the winter quartering, the Byzantine, Syrian and Arab chroniclers agree. Then there must follow the arrival of Yazid, the incursion in the Spring to Chalcedon or as far as Constantinople, and the withdrawal of the Arabs in the Summer at which time Amorium was captured. Here, too, all the chronicles agree. We have, therefore, three concrete facts: 1) The Saborius rebellion, 2) the wintering of the Arabs, and 3) their raid as far as ... and withdrawal in the Summer. These events constitute a veritable chain which Wellhausen aptly observes cannot be dissociated or isolated the one from the other.

Which in fact was the last winter before the death of Constantine? The winter of 667-668 and the following Summer of 668. Saborius mutinied when Constantine III was alive, and therefore before July 15, 668. It is my impression that he rebelled in the Autumn of 667, that the "son of the Emperor" sent Nicephorus against the rebel before the Winter of 667-668, and therefore in about November or early December of 667. Fadalah had tarried in the Winter of 667-668 in the region of the Hexapolis. In the middle of the Spring of 668 Yazid arrived with strong reinforcements and the Arabs under the leadership of Fadalah (Yazid was then only 18 years of age), together with the forces of Yazid proceeded as far as Chalcedon looting and pillaging all before them. They did not cross the Bosphorus because there was no Arab fleet available to carry out a crossing. Then, in the heart of the Summer, they withdrew and in the course of their march back the strongly fortified town of Amorium surrendered to them for some unknown reason. There they established a garrison of 5,000 troops.

The chronology which I support can be confirmed further by two other pieces of evidence, one of which is provided by the records of the 6th Ecumenical Council. In its 13th Act⁸⁸⁴ there is contained the passage, "... for which purpose the official synodical letter ..." which is none other than a reference to the synodical epistle of the Patriarch Thomas II (April 17, 667 - November 15, 669) addressed to Pope

884. Mansi, XI, 576, 577; Grummel, *Les Actes des Patriarches*, etc., p. 123, who dates the attempt to post the synodical letter in 667.

Vitalian. The minutes of the august assembly record that this epistle was not sent due to the persistent raids of the godless Saracens. The letter which had been drafted in 667 should have been sent at the latest in 668. Hence one can well believe that there arose some difficulty in dispatching the letter only because the raid of the forces of Yazid took place in 668. The second piece of evidence concerns the Byzantine and Syrian chroniclers⁸⁸⁵ who record that in the same winter of the rebellion of Saborius, there occurred a terrible flooding of the Euphrates in the course of which Edessa suffered much damage. The inundation is dated 980 (A.D. 668), in the 48th year of the Hegira (668).

Only by accepting these proposed dates can some reasonable conclusion be drawn from the conflicting information and the confused chronology found in the sources.

885. Theophanes, p. 351; Michael the Syrian, II, 456; Agapius, p. 229/449; Caetani, *op. cit.*, for the 48th year.

CHAPTER XI

THE MURDER OF CONSTANTINE III

Constantine was well aware of the danger of encirclement to the Empire by the dynamic and aggressive Arabs and of the need for a more effective defence in the West that could contain the Arab menace. Had the Muslims succeeded in occupying the provinces of Africa, Sicily and Southern Italy, the Adriatic itself would have been endangered and the Exarchate as well as Dalmatia exposed to assault. This is what actually happened a few centuries later when the Normans had become the foremost foes of the Empire.⁸⁸⁶ Despite the existing tendencies in the more distant provinces of the Empire⁸⁸⁷ to break away, the strengthening of imperial control and influence in the areas was essential. But the lack of the necessary means and the indifference shown by the populations in the outlying provinces were factors too powerful for the Emperor to surmount.

1

As soon as Constantine established himself in Sicily, he proceeded with the organization of the defence measures for the western part of the Empire.

Unfortunately, the information provided by the sources is all too scant and what is available is very slanted against the Emperor. The Byzantine chroniclers are silent and do not make even the slightest reference to the activities of Constantine in the entire period of his stay in the West. Moreover, the Latin sources, full of rancour and vindictiveness, refer only to what in their minds the inhabitants of the West

886. Bury, *The Naval Policy*, etc.

887. The rebellion of Gregory the Exarch of Africa in 647, of Olympius, the Exarch of Italy in 650, and so on.

suffered at the hands of the Emperor. And lastly, the Arab sources all of which were much later, give some information of the battles between Byzantine and Arab in Africa. But all the latter, besides being replete with habitual fantasy and exaggeration, refer only to the events and the military encounters that took place in the province of Africa.

One of the steps undertaken by Constantine to strengthen the defence of the region was the establishment of a "theme" of Sicily when he was at Syracuse.⁸⁸⁸ The whole of Southern Italy, ancient Bruttium, portions of Apulia and Lucania were incorporated under a single duke. Tarantum⁸⁸⁹ was selected as the seat of the Duke of Calabria. The dukedom was an appendage of the Sicilian "theme".⁸⁹⁰ Syracuse emerged as the administrative capital of all imperial possessions in Southern Italy. It has been argued⁸⁹¹ that the whole of Southern Italy comprised a special administrative unit, a kind of principality, but I do not believe this to be so, and no source records as much. It is very likely that the Dukedom of Calabria, the limits of which were soon very contracted, thanks to the conquests of the Lombards, was converted in time into a "turma" of the "theme" of Sicily.

Constantine also set about creating a powerful fleet and a strong army. The organization of a naval force was of major importance for the freedom of the seas in the Western Mediterranean. Thanks to the measures he had taken, there was no disruption of the maritime routes and communications between East and West. Proof of this is provided by the fact that all attacks by sea on the part of the Arab against the western regions of the Empire had ceased. Whereas up to that moment Arabs had undertaken frequent forays by sea, in the latter forty years of the 7th Century, with the exception of the attack against Sicily and the second assault against Carthage at the close of the century, all other attacks and raids were made by land.⁸⁹²

888. Diehl, *Etudes*, etc., p. 283; Agnello, *Palermo Bizantina*, p. 7.

889. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, etc., p. 7; Kyriakides, *Byzantine Studies*, II-V, p. 279.

890. Constantine Porphyrogennetus, *De Them.*, Ch. 10, and *De Adm. Imp.*, Vol. I, Ch. 50, 88, and Vol. II, p. 188, notes of Jenkins; Gay, *op. cit.*; Kyriakides, *op. cit.*

891. Bury, *History*, etc., II, 302.

892. Ganshof, *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano sull'alto medioevo*, Vol. V, 792, Spoleto, 1958.

It would appear however that he had much less success with the creation of a strong army. The inhabitants were reluctant to cooperate, for they had no particular incentive to fight or to serve in the armed forces. They had heard of the savagery of the Arab troops, but only heard, for the Arabs were far away and were active in distant lands. It is very odd indeed that even those inhabitants of Africa who had suffered the looting expeditions of the Arabs had no desire to cooperate with the Byzantine officials for the creation of a good military organization.

The arming and equipping of a fleet, the establishment of an effective military force and the maintenance of the palace at Syracuse required vast sums of money which was in short supply. A large part of the bronze that Constantine removed from Rome⁸⁹³ was used by the mint of Syracuse to issue coinage. But even this was inadequate. Constantine was forced to impose new taxes on those areas which were primarily to benefit from his defensive measures.

The indignation and wrath of the Latin chroniclers is indeed difficult to believe. They describe in gloomiest of colours the imposition and the collection of the taxes. The *Liber Pontificalis* which most Latin historians use as a source states that taxes were imposed on the people and the "property owners" of the provinces of Calabria, Sicily, Africa, and Sardinia ...⁸⁹⁴ of such burden "that no hope of life remained for anyone".⁸⁹⁵ The chroniclers recite a list of the kinds of taxes⁸⁹⁶ such as the agrarian tax, impositions on the movement and equipment of ships, a certain compulsory service in the navy,⁸⁹⁷ and so on. They go on to relate that imposition of heavy taxation and the manner of collection caused great disturbances and agitation and inflamed further the hatred of the inhabitants of these regions for the Emperor.

But that which stirred even more the wrath of the Latin chroniclers who were for the most part clergymen was the removal of the holy

893. Paul the Deacon, *Historia*, etc. v. II; L.P. p. 342; *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, p. 418.

894. Sardinia was administratively a part of the Exarchate of Africa and I cannot understand the object of this treatment as a separate province.

895. L.P., p. 344; Paul the Deacon, *op. cit.*, V, 11.

896. L.P., p. 344 and fn. 6; see all Latin chroniclers; Hodgkin, *Italy*, etc., VI, 280; Diehl, *Afrique*, etc., p. 569; Bury, *op. cit.*, II, 302.

897. This may well explain the passage, "wives were separated from their husbands, and sons from their fathers".

utensils from churches for the needs of rearmament. With uncontrollable abomination they deplored the sale of sacred vessels and precious objects ... "at the command of the Emperor".⁸⁹⁸

The exasperation caused by the harsh measures of Constantine reached as far as Carthage where the inhabitants expelled those who had been delegated to collect the taxes.

The basic reason for the failure of Constantine in his effort to organize the defence was obviously the lack of funds. The plan was certainly sensible, but the means at hand were very limited. He underestimated the strength of the Lombards and the difficulties entailed in the reconquest of Southern Italy. He could not foresee and appreciate the reaction and reluctance of those very populations that were directly threatened by the enemy to cooperate and to participate in the common defence effort. When compounding these problems with the nature of the Emperor's character which was uncompromising in the extreme,⁸⁹⁹ one can well understand why the plans for the defence came to naught.

Constantine had in 658 renewed the privileges of the Church of Rome,⁹⁰⁰ thus bringing to a close the quarrel between Rome and Constantinople. But there existed perpetual friction between the Pope and the Archbishop of Ravenna the latter of whom attempted to persuade the Emperor to free the see of Ravenna from its dependence on Rome.⁹⁰¹ The Church of Rome initially held sway over vast stretches of territory, the largest part of which included the population of Spain, Gaul, Italy, and so on, who were Arians, and therefore heretics. But with time, Rome began to impose herself more and more on the Arian inhabitants and eventually brought them round to Catholicism. The power and influence of Rome was thus enhanced. Whether under pressure from the Church of Constantinople, or because he himself realized the inherent dangers that would be faced by the Byzantine possessions in Italy in the event of the Empire's weakness, Constantine decided to make the archbishopric of Ravenna with its seat in the capital of the Exarchate, independent of Roman jurisdiction without

898. L.P., p. 344; Paul the Deacon, V, II, etc.

899. Ostrogorsky, A History, etc., p. 110.

900. L.P., p. 343; Amantos, History, etc., I, 328.

901. Agnelli, Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Ravennatis, p. 349; Hodgkin, op. cit., VI, 347 and fn. 2.

however subjecting it ecclesiastically to Constantinople. This action was for all intents and purposes an application of the 17th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon⁹⁰² which specified that the ecclesiastical organization should fall in line with the political. This principle was restated by the 38th Canon of the Council in Trullo in 692.⁹⁰³

From Syracuse in March 666 Constantine issued an imperial decree establishing the independence of the archbishopric of Ravenna, whose bishop would receive henceforth the "pallium" (the archbishop's pall) directly from the Emperor. The decree was addressed to Gregory the Exarch of Ravenna and bore the date, "the calends of March ...", the 25th year of Constantine, the 24th of his Consulship, as well as the 12th year of the younger Constantine and of the 7th of Heraclius and Tiberius.⁹⁰⁴

Pope Vitalian protested vehemently to the Emperor against the decree. He summoned Mavros, the Archbishop of Ravenna, to return to the jurisdiction of Rome and when the latter refused, he was promptly excommunicated. The Archbishop in turn straight-way passed an anathema on Pope Vitalian. When Mavros died some time later, there was inscribed on his tombstone the legend that he had freed the Church of Ravenna from the bondage of Rome.⁹⁰⁵

2

Constantine III was assassinated in Sicilian Syracuse in 668. Since there is much disagreement concerning the date of his murder, and whether it was part of a plot, and the manner of his death, I will first set out what happened with basis the official version and then deal with the other problems.

902. Rallis and Potlis, *Constitution, etc.*, II, 258, 259; Mansi, VII, 365.

903. Rallis and Potlis, *op. cit.*, II, 392; Mansi, XI, 960, 961; Guillou, *Régionalisme, etc.*, p. 206.

904. Agnelli, *op. cit.*, fn. 8, pp. 350, 351; Dölger, *Regesten*, No. 232; Hodgkin, *op. cit.*; Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, II, 584; Bury, *op. cit.*, II, 301; Diehl, *Exarchat de Ravenne*, p. 271; Aigrain, *Les Papes et l'Italie, etc.*, V, 403; Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens usw.*, p. 250.

905. Agnelli, *op. cit.*; Diehl, *Exarchat de Ravenne*, p. 272; Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, p. 347 and fn. 2.

Constantine visited the baths⁹⁰⁶ known as the "bath of Daphne". On that particular day he was escorted into the chamber of the baths by his servant for the day, one Andrew, son of the patricius Troilus.⁹⁰⁷ While he was "applying the soap",⁹⁰⁸ Andrew raised the "bucket",⁹⁰⁹ struck the Emperor a blow on the head and fled from the baths. When the guards who were waiting outside saw that he was late in emerging, they rushed into the baths and found him dead. Such is the official version⁹¹⁰ which with few minor variations⁹¹¹ was finally established and recorded in nearly all the chronicles. The murder took place in the baths and with no witness present who could give a description of the incident. This understandably threw suspicion on circles close to the murdered Emperor. I presume therefore that to allay any suspicions these circles circulated their own story of the murder. Since the fateful blow was struck with an object so necessary for the bathing of the Emperor, the act could be explained away by a sudden rage of the individual who was waiting on the monarch, thus shifting any suspicion from palatine circles close to the Emperor.

Some older Lives of Saints record that "he was slain by dagger at the hands of his officers". The Patmos Book of Saints writes "he was stabbed to death". The Vita of the most pious Martin etc. says "which Constantine was slain by dagger in the baths of Fatne (read:

906. The Roman balineum or public baths.

907. For the patricius Troilus see Chapter V.

908. Soap in that period, or something similar to soap, was available for bathing and was known as "Gallicum", for it appears that it originated from Gaul. See also De Boor in his edition of Theophanes, p. 735. Anastasius the Librarian translates it as "sapone Gallica". Hodgkin, VI, 281, fn. 2, writes that in the 7th Century soap was known as "Gallicon" and cites the Natural History of Pliny according to whom "gallorum hoc inventum".

909. "Kadion", a small bucket apparently used for rinsing the body.

910. Theophanes, pp. 351, 352; George the Monk, p. 718; Cedrenus, p. 763; Zonaras, III, 316, who adds that he was struck by the pump through which hot water was being poured over him; Joel, p. 47; Synopsis of Sathas, p. 113.

911. Michael the Syrian, II, 450, 451, records that Andrew applied two layers of soapsuds so that the Emperor could not open his eyes, then seized a silver bucket, struck the victim who died from the blows. Agapius, p. 230/490 adds that the guards found the Emperor in an unconscious condition but that he died the following day. The Western sources give no details of the murder except that he was slain in the baths. See L.P., pp. 343-345; Paul the Deacon, V, 11; Bedae, Chronica; Chron. Casinense, etc., p. 356; Chr. Viterbiensis, pp. 392 f.

Daphne)".⁹¹² It is very odd indeed that in addition to these Books of Saints, the *Patridographi* also mention the "stabbing" of Constantine and make no reference to a blow to the head.⁹¹³ Moreover, Anastasius of Sinai writes that Constantine "died in Sicily of dagger wounds".⁹¹⁴ There is yet another version according to which "when the Emperor Constantine was in Sicily, Mezezius with some companions rose against him and slew him in the baths ..." ⁹¹⁵ The Arabs on the other hand report "that because he had destroyed Christendom, the Sicilians threw him into a bath and slew him".⁹¹⁶

Such are the versions dealing with the death of Constantine. The first question that arises is whether in fact a plot existed against him or whether the murder was due to hatred or a momentary outburst of rage on the part of the murderer. It has been maintained that there was no plot against the Emperor,⁹¹⁷ and that Constantine was the victim of the personal hatred of Andrew. The question may well arise in this instance as to why a plotter who has decided single-handedly without the aid of accomplices to murder the monarch would do so with a bucket as weapon and not be more suitably armed and equipped to bring about his aim. But such an impression contradicts the extant sources. The Patriarch Nicephorus reports that Constantine was murdered treacherously.⁹¹⁸

The subsequent severe penalties imposed by the son of Constantine do not involve the proclamation of Mezezius as emperor. I have already discussed this other version of Theophanes. Al-Makine maintains that the Emperor was slain by senior officials and by his generals.⁹¹⁹

It is obvious that some kind of plot had been hatched in which the Western Church had an active role, if not in its entirety, at least through their clergy in Southern Italy and Sicily. But what precisely occurred is

912. Peeters, *Une Vie Grecque du Pape Martin*, etc., p. 253; *Synaxarium Eccl. Const.*, ed. Delahaye, p. 49.

913. S.O.C., p. 252, 2, "because after the slaughter of the Emperor in Sicily ..."

914. Anastasius of Sinai, in Migne, P.G., Vol. 89, 1156.

915. Theophanes, p. 352 and fn. 9; Zonaras, XIV, 20 (p. 316).

916. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, I, 354.

917. Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, VI, 281.

918. Nicephorus, p. 31, "when Constantine was in Sicily he was murdered in the baths treacherously by his own servants ..."

919. Al-Makine, p. 34.

impossible to clarify with the state of the existing sources today. Consequently one must turn again to supposition.

The Byzantine army that was stationed in Sicily consisted for the most part of troops from the Armeniakon and the Anatolikon themes.⁹²⁰ To their numbers were added men who had been drafted from Greece, Southern Italy and Sicily. Most probably the latter had been inducted by force in the wake of the measures Constantine had taken and which had caused such exasperation on the part of the population of these areas. The troops who came from the themes of Asia Minor had already been away from their homes more than six years. It may be that they had been suffering from some defeatism, nostalgia and perhaps even outright displeasure at their lot which the autocratic and stern character of Constantine could do little to mollify. The failures, moreover, of the campaigns against the Lombards and the Arabs⁹²¹ would understandably further aggravate the mood of the army against the Emperor.

It is reputed that the clergy of the West, whose hatred had reached a climax with the heavy taxation and the removal of the silver plate and objects from the churches, contributed no little to the growing resentment and detestation which soon evolved into conspiratorial activities. In a letter in which Gregory II addressed to Leo III in 726, the Pope reports that when Mezezius was informed by the bishops of Sicily that the Emperor was a heretic, that is, a Monothelite, he slew him.⁹²² This bit of information is highly suspect in the light of the fact that the senior Byzantine officers who had been with the Emperor for so many years would certainly have had no need to learn from the bishops of Sicily the religious beliefs of Constantine which were undoubtedly in harmony with the religious principles and policy of his Empire. One can therefore conclude, to interpret the gist of the letter, that the Western clergy fomented and encouraged conspiratorial action.

It is my considered opinion that there was without doubt an organized plot against the Emperor. The proclamation as emperor,

920. Brooks, *The Sicilian Expedition*, etc.; Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance*, etc., p. 158.

921. From the Latin chroniclers we learn only of the Emperor's failures, for they were hostile to the monarch. The Arabs, too, refer only to his failures. On the other hand, as I have again pointed out, the Byzantine chroniclers are absolutely silent about Constantine's campaigns in the West.

922. Mansi, XII, 959-974; Migne, P.L., 89, 520.

immediately after the regicide, of one of the military leaders in Sicily cannot be treated as an attempt to cover up the responsibility of the personal guard of the Emperor. There were apparently involved in the assassination many representatives of Byzantine families⁹²³ residing in Sicily and most of the senior army officers. It appears that the fleet did not take part in the conspiracy, the commander of which succeeded in assembling the vessels and sailing away from the island.⁹²⁴ Moreover, I do not believe that Constantine was actually murdered by blows from a bucket, but was put to the sword, and that later the palace deliberately circulated the version that was eventually to survive, the purpose being to delete from the records any suggestion that a rebellion of the troops against their emperor and murder at the hands of his officers was conceivable.

Perhaps the most controversial point involves the dating of the death of Constantine. All Byzantine chroniclers report as the year of his death the 27th of his reign.⁹²⁵ The information, however, is very perplexing since many chroniclers such as Theophanes, George the Monk, Zonaras, the Synopsis Sathas, Glycas, Paul the Deacon, and others, write that Constantine remained in Sicily for six years and was afterwards slain. As pointed out in Chapter IX, Constantine departed for Sicily in the latter part of September 663 and therefore in accordance with this calculation his death would fall in 669. Yet all chroniclers record that he reigned about 27 years. Since he occupied the throne as sole Emperor in early 642, to be murdered in the 27th year of his reign, the latter event should have occurred sometime in 668, otherwise he would have met his death not in the 27th but in the 28th year. If we accept A.D. 669 as the year of his death, there arises a discrepancy in the years of the reign

923. Anonyme de Cordoue, ed. Tailhan, pp. 433, 434; Ostrogorsky, *A History*, etc., p. 110; Brooks, *op. cit.*, II, 385; Lebeau, XI, 405, 406; Peeters, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

924. Of the rebellion in Sicily, the proclamation of Mezezius as emperor, and the escape of the fleet from Sicily, I will deal at greater length in the following volume.

925. If we compute the years of the reign of Constantine from the date of his coronation as Co-Emperor, then the 27th year falls between the end of September 667 and the close of September 668. If we calculate this from the time he was sole Emperor, as is the usual practice of Theophanes for all emperors, then the 27th year lies between January 668 and January 669.

of his son Constantine IV which the Byzantine, Eastern and Western chroniclers record as amounting to 17, since Constantine IV died between July and September of 685.⁹²⁶ The respective dates given by the chroniclers are summarized in Note XIX.

The only source providing a most accurate chronology is the *Liber Pontificalis*.⁹²⁷ This source gives the precise dating of the murder of Constantine as July 15 of the 12th Indiction, hence July 15, 669. Duchesne,⁹²⁸ however, who edited the *Liber* observed that this dating is mistaken either in the month or the Indiction. He concludes finally that the error is in the Indiction and that one must accept July 15, 668 as the correct dating of Constantine's death. This view has already been accepted or was subsequently accepted by many later historians.⁹²⁹

Pagi⁹³⁰ was the first to dispute the chronology of the *Liber Pontificalis*. He argued that since the acts of the 6th Ecumenical Council (680-681) record that they had been promulgated in the 13th year of the consulship of Constantine IV, and since the latter could not have become consul while his father was alive, we must therefore accept the date of the murder as falling in the period between November 7, the opening day of the Council, and September 16, 681, the last day of the synod when the 13th year of the consulship was still used for the dating. Hence, the Emperor was murdered at the earliest on September 15, 668. Such being the case, it is not only the Indiction that is incorrect, as Duchesne maintains, but the month as cited by the *Liber Pontificalis*.

926. The precise date of the death of Constantine IV is disputed, but it is not the place here to examine more deeply the details of the dispute.

927. In the *Vita Vitalianus*, p. 44.

928. L.P., fn. 7, pp. 344, 345. It is to be noted that this *Life* had not been written with a mind to accuracy, for after the death of Constantine it records that "shortly thereafter ..." Vitalian also died. But the latter died at the close of January of 672 or 3 1/2 years later.

929. Du Cange, *Familiae*, etc., p. 120; Brooks, in C.M.H., II, 395; Grégoire, in *Notules épigraphiques*, etc.; Guiland, *Etudes*, etc., p. 15; Lambros, III, 731; Lebeau, *Histoire*, etc., XI, 404; Grierson, *The Tombs*, etc., p. 49; Amari, *Storia*, etc., p. 96; Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, p. 281, fn. 2.

930. Pagi in his notes to the edition of *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Baronius, Vol. XI, events for the year 668. It should be remarked that Pagi disagrees with Baronius who accepts that the murder of Constantine occurred on July 15, 668.

This view was accepted by Ranke⁹³¹ and was more recently supported also by Ostrogorsky, Grumel and others using the same arguments.

On this matter, I would like to make several observations:

1. It was not essential that the Emperor died before his heir could be proclaimed consul. The consulship was a yearly function which the Emperor normally assumed himself, but oftentimes the Emperor did not proclaim himself every year a consul. On the contrary in fact there were years when no consul had been named (the so-called consul-less years) or when some person other than the monarch was made consul or when the son of the Emperor for example, Constantine II, the son of Heraclius, was named consul while Heraclius was still alive, his consulship beginning on January 1, 632.⁹³² In the reign of Maurice, on the occasion of the wedding of his son Theodosius, the latter while his father was still living was proclaimed consul.⁹³³ Indeed in the 7th Century and especially beginning in the age of Constantine III, the Emperor as a rule was proclaimed consul once and only once, for the title was already considered to be of little value and importance.⁹³⁴ The years following were computed as years "of consulship". From the age of Justinian I and on the basis of Novel 105, the Emperor was regarded as the eternal consul. The citing of a consulship which was formerly used as the basic kind of dating continued to exist throughout the 7th and 8th Centuries. But in all the official acts the basic dating was by the Indiction and the year of the Emperor's reign.

2. The proclamation of the Emperor as consul on the day following his coronation as the reigning monarch was not obligatory. In accordance with an old, a very ancient, tradition the Emperor assumed the consulship on the first of January in the year following his coronation.⁹³⁵ But the custom was strictly adhered to in the latter years. For example, on August 13, 582 Maurice was crowned Emperor, yet the

931. Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, VI, 168; Brooks, *Review of Kulakovsky Istor. Vizantini*, Vol. III, in *E.H.R.*, Vol. 31/1916.

932. See Vol. I, p. 264.

933. *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Bonn, I, 693

934. Courtois, *Ex-consul*.

935. Stein, *Post-consulat*, etc., p. 869; Guillard, *Le Consulat*, etc.; Grumel, *La Chronologie*, pp. 346, 347.

first Indiction, September 1, 582 to August 31, 583, that is to say, the first year of the reign of Maurice, was recorded as the "year of no consulship".⁹³⁶ Phocas was crowned Emperor on November 23, 602 but was not proclaimed consul until December. Heraclius received the crown October 6, 610 and ordered the first year of his consulship be dated on January 13, 611.⁹³⁷ Hence there does not exist a precedent or a set rule upon which one can rely so as to maintain that Constantine IV could not have been proclaimed consul while his father was alive, and on such a basis to have to concede that Constantine III was assassinated in September and not in July of 668.

Since the only date we have for his death is the 15th of July of the 12th Indiction, it would be preferable to alter the 12 to 11 which could be justified through a probable copying error by some scribe. It would be easier to accept as an error in transcription a change in the number than to presume that the copyist wrote July instead of September. It is significant indeed, that in other *Vitae* of Pope Vitalian, the date of the murder is recorded as "the fifteenth of July in the 11th Indiction".⁹³⁸

In the light of the above analysis, I would conclude that Constantine III was murdered on July 15th in the year A.D. 668.⁹³⁹ Constantine IV was proclaimed consul after he learned of the death of his father. Perhaps news of the death had been delayed deliberately by those in Sicily, especially after the successful revolution and the proclamation of Mezezius as Emperor. And it is most probable that Constantine IV, because of the period of mourning, was in no hurry to have himself proclaimed consul.

936. *Chronicon Paschale*, I, 690.

937. *Chronicon Paschale*, I, 703; Stein; *op. cit.*

938. Anastasius the Librarian, *Historia de vitis*, etc., ed. Muratori, Vol. III. In a footnote Muratori remarks that other manuscripts mention the 12th Indiction as does the L.P.; *ibid.*, in Migne, P.L., 128, p. 778. Migne also cites other manuscripts that record the 12th Indiction. Apparently the manuscript that had survived mentioned the 11th Indiction, but with time this was subsequently altered to the 12th by some copyist. Anastasius flourished in the 10th Century.

939. The 15th of July 668 fell on a Saturday.

The problem of the burial of Constantine III presents a few difficulties.

Cedrenus states that the son of the murdered Emperor had gone to Sicily to crush the mutiny and to punish the assassins of his father, then brought back the coffin of the deceased monarch.⁹⁴⁰ He was interred in the Church of the Holy Apostles, in the same tomb with his father Constantine II. This is the only source that mentions the burial of the assassinated ruler at any length.

There exist various sources that deal with the tombs of the Byzantine rulers. These have been studied thoroughly but unfortunately are not complete. The fact that three of the immediate successors of Heraclius bore the name of Constantine gave rise to much confusion both to subsequent chroniclers and to the copyists.

In his Book of Ceremonies Constantine Porphyrogennetus describes the tombs of the emperors who lay in the Church of the Holy Apostles of Constantinople.⁹⁴¹ In the monument of Justinian situated in the enclosure of the Church there were "... another coffin of Proconnesian marble containing Constantine Pogonatus. Yet another coffin ... of Sagarion stone holding Constantine the grandson of Heraclius, son of Constantine Pogonatus".

Du Cange⁹⁴³ cites an anonymous list, C, of the royal tombs in the same monument of the Church of the Holy Apostles. This list contains ... "the coffin of Proconnesian marble containing Constantine Pogonatus ... a coffin of manifold marbles wherein lies Constans son of Constantine son of Heraclius".

Banduri⁹⁴⁴ provides yet another list, R, which contains "... a coffin

940. Cedrenus, p. 763. Constantine's journey to Sicily is doubted by contemporary historians who, using the study of Brooks, *The Sicilian Expedition*, etc., argue that Constantine IV never visited the island. This is not the place to examine the matter since it concerns Constantine IV whose reign will be dealt with in a following volume.

941. Constantine Porphyrogennetus, *De Cer.*, II, Chapt. 42.

942. Proconnesus is an island in the Sea of Marmara.

943. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, II, 110.

944. A. Banduri, *Imperii Orientali*, Paris. 1711, I, part III, 121 f., and Vol. II, 812.

of Proconnesian marble of Constantine Pogonatus ... a Sagarian containing Constans son of Constantine son of Heraclius". George Codinus cites an identical list in his "On the Tombs of the Emperors, etc."⁹⁴⁵

Lists C (Du Cange), R (Banduri) and that of Codinus are identical and apparently derive from the primary source Constantine Porphyrogennetus.⁹⁴⁶

From the contents of the above list one can conclude that Constantine III, surnamed Pogonatus, was interred in the Church of the Holy Apostles.⁹⁴⁷

In addition to these lists, there exists another source, the *Necrologium Imperatorum* incorporated in the *Altinate Chronicle*⁹⁴⁸ dealing with the history of Venice. The chronicle besides recording the years of the reigns of emperors and so on, deals with the dates of their death and the places of burial. More specially, on page 20 is a statement to the effect that according to one tradition Constantine, son of Heraclius, reigned 6 years, and his son reigned 28 years! And according to another tradition Constantine, the son of Heraclius, was Emperor for 4 years, whereas Constans, son of Constantine, and grandson of Heraclius reigned for 27. On page 108, the chronicle supplies the information that Constans died in Syracuse on November 15, and that he was the son of Heraclius, grandson of Pogonatus (!) and was interred in the monastery of St. Gregory at Syracuse. Moreover, that he reigned for 20 years!

Despite all the emendations of Grierson⁹⁴⁹ the chronicle which most probably was originally taken from some Greek digest of the 10th Century, cannot possibly be treated as a serious and reliable source. In addition to its many errors, it is worth noting that the monastery mentioned therein as the burial place of the Emperor is completely unknown.⁹⁵⁰

945. Migne, P.G., 157, pp. 732, 733.

946. A. Maricq, *Notes Philologiques*, in *Byz.*, XXII, 1952, pp. 370, 371.

947. Downey, *The Tombs*, etc.

948. *Chronicon Altinate et Gradense*, ed. Cessi.

949. Grierson, *The Tombs*, etc.

950. Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 50 and fn. 107. He writes that the existence of such a monastery is unknown in Italian chronicles. Yet many religious establishments in Sicily disappeared as a result of the subsequent occupation of the island by the Arabs.

After considerable study of the matter at hand, I have reached the conclusion that following the murder of Constantine III, those in Sicily who undertook his funeral and burial⁹⁵¹ interred him in some monastery of Syracuse, probably in that which is cited by the Chronicle Altinate. When the rebellion was crushed, Constantine IV carried the body of his father to Constantinople and there interred it at the monument of Justinian in the Church of the Holy Apostles. The confusion that exists in the various lists is due firstly to the fact that when they were drawn up the very brief reign of Constantine II had been forgotten, and on the other hand, as had already been pointed out, to the bewilderment caused by the identical names of the three successors of Heraclius.

Fausta, the wife of Constantine, about whom we know absolutely nothing, and have no inkling as to when she died, was interred next to her husband in the Church of the Holy Apostles in a coffin of green marble from Thessaly.⁹⁵²

4

The death of Constantine III was a blow to the fortunes of Byzantium. The Emperor was slain at the age of 38 years, the age at which his grandfather Heraclius had first set out on his brilliant campaign to preserve and to restore the Empire. He was a mature man who had grown up in the dust of the battlefield.

As has been pointed out in the first chapter, Constantine was a brave soldier who nearly always led his troops into battle in the tradition of his courageous grandfather. Although his accomplishments were not strikingly impressive, one must nevertheless give him some due, for he was the first Emperor of Byzantium who succeeded in halting the alarming surge forward of the Arabs, and indeed at a time when the Muslims were in their first prime. He was the first Byzantine Emperor to take drastic measures against the Slavonic endeavours for some kind of autonomy within the Empire.⁹⁵³ He was the first Byzantine Emperor

951. Theophanes, p. 352.

952. Constantine Porphyrogennetus, *op. cit.*, II, 42; Du Cange, *op. cit.*; Banduri, *op. cit.*; *Chronicon Altinate*, etc.

953. Barker, Justinian, etc., p. 252.

who, after Justinian's recovery of Italy and Africa, concerned himself with the defence of the Western areas and the organization of its military capabilities. During his reign, despite the numerous mutinies and rebellions that shook the Empire, Byzantium suffered very minor territorial losses.

If he failed to fulfil his plans and dreams, this was due to the lack of financial means. He found himself in very much the same position as his grandfather Heraclius long before him. But whereas Heraclius was saved by the generosity and inspiration of the Patriarch Sergius. Constantine was forced to seek support and backing from all those who had but were reluctant to give, thus stirring an ever-mounting reaction against him and his drastic measures.

He had never preoccupied himself with religious controversy and yet his arbitrariness of character often led him into altercations with the divines. This high-handedness led surely and inevitably to his end.

Constantine III departed from the scene at a moment that was very crucial for Byzantium. His son, Constantine IV, became Emperor at a tender 17 or 18 years of age.

HISTORICAL NOTES

- I. The following sources make reference to "Pogonatus":
 1. Leo the Grammarian, p. 159: "Constantine IV was given the name Pogonatus because he went to Sicily beardless and returned with a beard".
 2. Theodosius of Melitene gives an identical explanation.
 3. Cedrenus: "Constantine, son of Constans Pogonatus".
 4. Manasses provides a more poetical description of Constantine IV: (v. 3856-60) "This Emperor whom the vulgar crowd and common people called Pogonatus, because, it is reputed that when he set out on the naval expedition against Mezezius he had but a young smooth-skinned face, without a beard, but when he returned he was mature and fully bearded".
 5. Zonaras, III, 316, relates that when Constantine IV went to Sicily "to avenge the murder of his father, he was clean-shaven, that is, beardless, but he returned with a beard on which account he was called Pogonatus".
 6. Glycas reports about the same as Zonaras.
 7. Joel, p. 48, also writes the same as Zonaras.
 8. The Sathas Synopsis, p. 113, likewise.
 9. In *De Them.*, Chapt. I, 30, Constantine Porphyrogennetus describes Constantine IV as Pogonatus. But in three passages of the *De Adm. Imp.*, he writes a) Chapt. 21, 10-11, when referring to the Mardaites, "Constantine, son of Pogonatus", b) Chapt. 21, 46, "the Emperor Constantine, son of Pogonatus", and c) Chapt. 48, 28, 29, when relating the siege of Constantinople, "in the reign of Constantine, son of Constantine, also known as Pogonatus, a certain Callinicos".
 10. Constantine Porphyrogennetus in the *De Cer.*, II, Chapt. 42, records, "the Sarcophagus ... of Constantine Pogonatus", and "another of Fausta, wife of Constantine Pogonatus", and yet "another coffin ... of Constantine grandson of Heraclius, the son of Constantine Pogonatus". Downey (*The Tombs*, etc.) says that the wife of Constantine II was Gregoria, and of Constantine IV, Anastasia. Grierson (*The Tombs and Obits*, etc.) states that a confusion arose because the three successors of Heraclius bore the name of Constantine, and also since the very brief reign of Constantine II was soon forgotten, Constans is reported as the son of Heraclius and Constantine IV as his grandson. Yet I cannot agree with the latter statement of Grierson, for, as I have already recorded, in his *De Adm. Imperio*, Porphyrogennetus describes Constantine III as Pogonatus.
 11. The *Patridographi* (S.O.C., p. 235, 13, 14) write that "regarding Carpianos ... Constantine, son of Heraclius, known as Pogonatus". The "son of Heraclius" should without doubt be replaced by "grandson".
- Such are the sources referring to Pogonatus.

II. Concerning Valentine, the references are as follows:

1. Theophanes, p. 341. Anno Mundi 6133, hence following Brooks, "The Chronology of Theophanes", in 642: "The Senate this year expelled Heracleonas together with his mother Martina and Valentinus".
2. Theophanes, p. 343, for the year 6136, hence on the basis of the above correction, A.D. 645, the third of Constans (September 643-644), 11th of Umar (October 644 - November 3, 644 when he was assassinated), the 4th of the Patriarch Paul (October 644-645): "the patricius Valentinus mutinied this year against Constans who had put him to death ...".
3. Patriarch Nicephorus, p. 31. The only reference made is of a compact between Martina and Valentine. The latter was made Count of the Excubitors. As pointed out elsewhere there is a considerable lacuna in the Nicephorus chronicle. It makes no mention of events from October 641 to the year 668 when Constantine III was murdered.
4. Sébéos. On p. 103 he records that Valentine led his army against Constantinople, arrested Martina, slit her tongue, and put her and her two children to death. He placed Constans, son of Constantine on the throne, and so forth. On pages 105, 106 he writes that which I have cited in the text, then relates how he was slain and his body put to the flames, and thereafter makes the surprising statement that "Constantine was placed on the throne ..." as though he had completely forgotten what had been written in the previous passages.
5. John of Nikiu on pp. 573 and 579 relates the first mutiny of Valentine and his march at the head of an army to Chalcedon. Valentine and Domentianus installed the young Constantine, son of Constantine, the son of Heraclius, then withdrew. On p. 582 he writes that Valentine who wore the purple wished to usurp the throne but the populace of Constantinople seized him, Constantine III accepted his oath of loyalty, then placed him at the head of the army. It was agreed that Constantine would marry the daughter of Valentine who was proclaimed Augusta! Zotenberg erroneously, in fn. 1 of p. 582, dates the event in 644, citing Theophanes. But irrespective of whether Theophanes explicitly records that Valentine was slain at the time, I note that even where we can accept the chronology of Zotenberg, Constantine would then have been 13 or 14 years of age and it would be highly improbable that he could act as John of Nikiu records. In the next passage, John relates how Cyrus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, was most disturbed by news of the exile of Martina and of the triumph and the power of Valentine and died of a broken heart. The death of Cyrus therefore occurred after the Valentine incident which I have referred to a few lines earlier. But Cyrus died on March 21, 642 (see Vol. II, p. 112). Hence the Valentine episode must have taken place at the end of January or February 642, almost immediately after the dethronement of Heraclius II and Martina's exile.

Such are the primary sources which deal with the Valentine episode.

III. In his excellent study of the Arab invasions of Armenia (Byz. XVIII, 1946-1948, pp. 163-195), Manandian concludes that the first incursion into Armenia resulted in the capture and looting of Dwin which occurred on a Friday, October 6, 640. The learned Russian-Armenian scholar analyses all the sources, Arab, Syrian, and Armenian (there are no Greek sources on the subject) and argues that the only reliable and contemporary account is the history of Bishop Sébéos. Sébéos records the following: 1) the fall of Dwin took place on the 20th of the month 'Tre', on a Friday. 'Tre' is the fourth month in the Armenian calendar. 2) These events occurred in the last year of the Catholicos Ezdras. 3) Following these incidents, the Emperor, at the suggestion of Narses who had succeeded Ezdras, appointed in the same year as commander of the Armenian forces Theodore Rstuni.

Using this information Manandian concludes that the occupation of Armenia and the grand razzia referred to by the Arabs in which Georgia and Albania (of the Caucasus) were subjected took place in 653, and the first raid and pillage of Dwin occurred in A.D. 640. According to Manandian's calculation, the 20th of Tre, that is, the 110th day of the Armenian calendar, fell on a Friday only in A.D. 640, whereas the 20th of Tre in 642 fell on a Sunday. Since Sébéos very explicitly says Friday, the 20th of Tre, we are obliged to go along with October 6, 640. Other Armenian scholars have reached the same conclusion (Alishan and Hambarean). Moreover, on the basis of the lists of the Armenian Catholicoi, Ezdras was patriarch for 10 years. Since he was elected in 630, his final year as Catholicos was 640. This fact also substantiates the 640 dating. The argument of Manandian was accepted, I regret to say, by Ostrogorsky, Lemerle, Canard, and others without themselves sifting thoroughly the evidence.

I cannot go along with Manandian for the following reasons:

1. As I have already pointed out, the History of Sébéos has not survived in its original form, but in the anonymous text which has been ascribed to him. It was edited as a History of Sébéos (Abgarian, *Remarques sur l'histoire de Sébéos*). Moreover, the text which has survived is in many passages corrupt and difficult to decipher. For example, on p. 110 it states that the Arabs, etc., advanced in the direction of the town of Naxkavan and against the army that was besieging it (?), but without being able to take it (?). To take the town? Since it was being besieged by an army hostile to the Arabs, this town should have been in the hands of the Arabs. On the hostile army (?). Many such passages can be cited.
2. Sébéos does not as a rule provide accurate dates. He generally uses the years of reigns of kings. How, then, this precise dating and indeed at the end of a passage? I suspect it is an appendage by some copyist.
3. The chronology is at variance with the other information he supplies. a) The final year of Ezdras. But as I have already pointed out, Ezdras died in 642 (see Garitte in *De Rebus Armeniae*, pp. 338 and 432). Narses (the Greek list refers to him as Norseses) became Catholicos at the end of 642

(Garitte, *op. cit.*) and held the position for 20 years (642-661, 662). Hence the final year of Ezdras was 642. b) Theodore Rstuni was appointed commander of the army at the suggestion of Narses. The information takes us to the year 643. Moreover, the position of the governor of Armenia was at the time vacant. David Zacharuni was expelled at the end of 641 or in early 642. Had there been a governor, the Armenian forces could have been assembled and not fight the common enemy piece-meal, but as a single strong force. Hence, an attack against Dwin at a time when David Zacharuni had his headquarters there would have been well-nigh impossible.

4. In his relation of the Arab invasion, he places the attack after the death of Heraclius and of his son Constantine II, and therefore in the first half of 641 (see p. 100).
5. Other Armenian chroniclers supply the following dates: a) Ghevond (p. 8) says the second year of Constantine (642-643). b) The Anonymous Chronicle (see Manandian), the 2nd year of Constantine, grandson of Heraclius. c) Aġoghig de Daron, in one version the 3rd year of Constantine (643-644), but in the years of Ezdras (p. 152), and in another the 90th year of the Armenians (551 plus 90 or A.D. 641), and in yet another (p. 127), the 95th year (A.D. 646).

Therefore, on the basis of all that S  b  os records, ignoring the addition that was made and which muddled the entire narrative, the occupation and plunder of Dwin took place in 642.

Yet irrespective of all the above evidence, and as repeatedly pointed out, a major invasion of Armenia could not possibly be undertaken without the previous occupation of Mesopotamia, the conquest of which was completed between the close of 640 and early 641.

Such are the reasons which have led me to reject Manandian's contention and to adhere to the older chronology of Dulaurier which appears to fit in more with the sequence of events.

IV. Ghevond (or Levond) relates that when Constantine stripped Theodore (I presume from the rank of commander-in-chief) and put in his place Sbat Bagratuni, he ordered the governor of Cilicia to march against the Arabs. He also commanded Theodore to reinforce the Greek army, threatening that in the event he did not obey he would be severely punished. Theodore thereupon sent his son Vard with a force of Armenians. He instructed Vard to abandon the Greeks at a prearranged moment and to escape to the enemy camp. The allied army crossed the Euphrates and entered Syria. The protection of the bridge of pontoons was entrusted to Vard. After a bloody battle the Arabs were victorious and the Greeks retreated to the Euphrates. At that moment Vard severed the ropes binding the bridge and the Greeks suffered terrible destruction. Aġoghig de Daron and Vardan record nearly the same narrative. Both Ghevond (pp. 12, 13) and Aġoghig report the incident as taking place in the first year of Muawiyah's reign (661) and the 25th of Constantine (665-666). All I could add is that Theodore Rstuni was not alive at the time. Various historians date the incident differently. Grousset,

Histoire de l'Arménie, p. 300, says 653-654, Muyltermans in his edition of Vardan (p. 80, fn. 1) says 654, and so on.

I must make the following observations: 1) Denys de Tell-Mahre, p. 7, records a crossing of the Euphrates in the year 955 (643-644) undertaken by the army of Procopius and Theodore and a pillaging of the region Batnasarong which according to Chabot lies south of Hierapolis (Menbidj). Dussaud on the other hand states that the Byzantines advanced to Bathnae Seroudj on the Zeugma-Carrhae route east of the Euphrates. There is no record of a defeat but of a victory of the combined Greek and Armenian forces (see also Manandian, p. 181). 2) Theodore Rstuni was accused of treason, but before 645, when he was arrested and brought in bonds to Constantinople. 3) In 653 or 654, Theodore had long been in collusion with the Arabs and therefore there could not have been a case of his being requested to assist the imperial army, nor could the Byzantines possibly have asked him for help.

It is my impression that there exists a tradition according to which in the period before Armenia was subjected by the Arabs, there took place a treasonable action on the part of the Armenians to the detriment of Byzantium. This "treachery" caused the destruction of the Byzantine army led by the strategos Procopius. There could be not any case of treachery after 651 on the part of Theodore because he had already been openly collaborating with the Arabs. In the period from 650 to 653 there existed a truce between the Byzantines and Arabs. And lastly, after 653 the commander of the imperial army in the region was the strategos Morianus. Hence if there was an act of treachery it could have taken place only before 645. This may account for the charge of treachery against Theodore Rstuni and his arrest at the time.

V. The dating of the first Arab invasion of Cyprus presents some difficulty. There exist various schools of thought on the matter.

1. In his book on the Themes (*De Thematibus*, ed. Pertusi, pp. 81, 82), Constantine Porphyrogenetus writes, "in the course of this year ... the Saracens held sway on the island in the reign of Heraclius. And the first to cross over was Abubacharus, the tomb of whose daughter can still be seen ..." Several historians have accepted the information, and point out that Abu Bakr occupied Larnaca, buried his daughter there, and subsequently withdrew (sathas, *Medieval Library*, Vol. II, p. kb=22). Sakellarios (*Kypriaka*) also records this incident. But the information is misleading. Abu Bakr became Caliph in 632-634. He had never shown any desire for conquests. The Arabs occupied the Syrian coastline after 637 after which date only could an expedition be undertaken against Cyprus. But Abu Bakr was already dead then. Mas Latrie, in his *History of Cyprus* (I, 87) writes that the grave mentioned refers to that of a wife of one of the Companions of the Prophet who had participated in the expedition of Muawiyah.
2. The first invasion occurred in 647, 648 or 649.
The references are the following:
 - a) Theophanes (p. 343). A.M. 6140 (A.D. 648-649), 7th year of Constans

- (648-649), the 3rd of Uthman (646-647), the 8th of Paul (648-649). Cedrenus repeats the same (p. 755).
- b) Agapius (pp. 194, 195 & 220), the 6th year of Constans (647-648) for the conquest of Cyprus and the 7th year (648-649) in which the Greeks and Arabs divided the island.
 - c) Michael the Syrian (II, 441), the year 960 (A.D. 649) Muawiyah, etc.
 - d) Bar Hebraeus (ed. Bruns-Kirsch, p. 110), the year 960 (649).
 - e) Al-Makine, p. 34, in the 27th year of the Hegira (647-648) Meganic (Muawiyah) conquered Cyprus.
 - f) Elie Bar Sinaya (p. 85), in the 28th year (648-649) the Arabs invaded Cyprus.
 - g) Denys de Tell-Mahre (p. 7), in 960 (A.D. 649) Muawiyah invaded Cyprus.
 - h) Chronicle of 1234 (p. 209), the year 960 (649) Muawiyah, etc.
 - i) Baladhuri (p. 235). Muawiyah received permission to build a fleet in the 27th year (647-648). Muawiyah set out in the 28th year (648-649) after the rainy season. Others say he set out in the 29th year (649-650).
 - j) Tabari (ed. Zotenberg, III, 563) the 28th year (A.D. 648-649).
 - k) Eutychius, the 28th year of the Hegira (648-649).
 - l) Arab chronicle (Baethgen, *Fragmente* usw.), in the year 959 (A.D. 648), the 28th of the Hegira (648-649), Muawiyah invaded Cyprus.
 - m) Suyuti (p. 159), the 27th of the Hegira (647-648).
 - n) *Historia Miscella* of Paul the Deacon (Migne, P.L., Vol. 95, p. 1049), mentions the 7th year of Constantine (648-649).
 - o) Abul Fedae (*Annales*, II, 262), 27th year (647-648).

One can well understand the difficulty in reaching some sensible conclusion with the above range of sources. Most appear to support the years 648 or 649. Of the modern historians, Sathas (op. cit.), Hertzberg (*History of Greece*), Sakellarios (op. cit.), and others support the year 647. Vasiliev (*Byzance et les Arabes*) prefers 647-648. Paparrigopoulos (*History of Greece*), Gelzer (*Short Byzantine History*), Papageorgiou (*Les premieres incursions Arabes*), Hatzipsaltis (*Cyprus in the 2nd Half*, etc.), Alexandris (*The Sea Power*, etc.), Amari (*Storia dei Musulmani*, etc.), accept the year 648. Ahrweiler (*L'Asie Mineure*, etc.), Caetani (*Annali*, etc.), Dikigoropoulos (*The Political Status*, etc.), Halphen (*Les Barbares*), say 648-649. And lastly, Amantos, Becker, Brehier, Brooks, Bury, Diehl, Dulaurier, Eickoff, Glubb, Hitti, Kaestner, Lambros, Lammens, Lemerle, Levchenko, Lombard, Ostrogorsky, Weil, Wellhausen, support the year 649. Hill (*History of Cyprus*) records all three dates.

To reach some kind of reasonable solution, certain points should be borne in mind: 1) Permission to build a fleet was given to Muawiyah in the 27th year (647-648). Therefore the years 647 and 647-648 must be excluded as the year for the invasion of Cyprus. And a certain period would have elapsed for the construction or conversion of ships. 2) The Arabs in 648 were preoccupied with

the massive invasion of Africa under the leadership of Abdallah the governor of Egypt. 3) According to Wakidi and most Arab chroniclers, the Egyptian fleet under Abdallah took part in the invasion of Cyprus. On the basis of these realistic factors, we must conclude that the year was A.D. 649. By no stretch of the imagination however would 648-649 be feasible as a date, for according to the narrative of Theophanes it emerges that the expedition took place in the Summer, and to judge by the passage in Baladhuri it began as soon as the rainy season ended, hence in the late Spring (Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe*, etc., p. 1418). The 28th year of the Hegira commenced at the end of September 648. Under these circumstances, we should agree with the Spring or the Summer of 649 which coincides with the latter half of the 28th year of the Hegira.

VI. The chroniclers cite the following dates for the naval engagement.

1. Theophanes, p. 345, writes A.M. 6146 (655) after the correction made by Brooks (*The Chronology of Theophanes*), the 13th of Constans (654-655), the 9th of Uthman (652-653), the 2nd of the Patriarch Peter (655-656). Other Byzantine chroniclers support this dating.
2. Michael the Syrian (II, 445) records that the naval action took place in the year 966 (655), the 35th of the Arabs (655-656), the 10th of Constans (651-652), the 9th of Uthman (652-653).
3. Abu Faraj Bar Hebraeus (p. 98) says the 37th of the Hegira (657-658).
4. Elie Bar Sinaya, the 34th of the Hegira (654-655).
5. Anonymous Chronicle of 1234, the year 966 (655), the 13th of Constans (653-654), the 37th of the Arabs (657-658), the 9th of Uthman (652-653).
6. Makrizi, ed. Casanova, says the naval battle took place in the 34th of the Hegira (654-655).
7. Al Kindi, the 34th of the Hegira.
8. Tabari, using Wakidi, records the 31st of the Hegira (651-652), ed. Goeje, I, 2865 f., ed. Zotenberg, IV, 570 f. He also on the basis of Abou Masar's narrative cites the 34th of the Hegira (654-655).
9. Al-Athir reports the 31st year (since he follows Tabari), but he also mentions the 34th year.
10. Sébéos (p. 141) writes the 13th year of Constantine (654-655).
11. Huwaraizmi (Baethgen, *Fragmente* usw.) says the year 965 (654), and the 34th of the Hegira (654-655).
12. Mirkhond, the 31st of the Hegira (651-652).

A.D. 655 is supported by Diehl (*Le Monde Oriental*), Bréhier (*Vie et Mort de Byzance*, p. 61), Brooks (*C.M.H.*, II, 393, 394), Ahrweiler (*Byzance et la Mer*, p. 18, fn. 2), Lombard (*Arsenaux et bois*, etc.), Canard (*Les expéditions des Arabes*), Lemerle (*Les repercussions de la crise*, etc.), Alexandris (*The Sea Power*, etc., p. 143), Eickoff (*Seekrieg* usw., pp. 19 f.), Hitti (*History of the Arabs*, etc., p. 167), Wellhausen (*Die Kämpfe* usw., p. 420).

Irrespective of the various dates given by the Syrian chroniclers and the above chronology, I am convinced that the most probable date for the naval engagement is that recorded by Theophanes (A.M. 6146) and by the Arabs, that is, the 34th

year of the Hegira, or from July 22, 654 to July 10, 655. This is why I maintain in the text that the naval action occurred before early July 655 when the 34th year of the Hegira terminates. Eickoff believes strongly that the engagement took place in the Spring of 655. If we associate the events of Tripoli with the flight of the "sons of Vucinator" and the naval battle in which they too took part, then we should arrive at the date May-June of A.D. 655.

VII. Sébéos writes (pp. 140 f.) that Muawiyah assembled the entire army of the East, of Persia, India, of Egypt, and so on. And that he built warships in Alexandria and all the coastal towns which numbered 300 large vessels and 5000 (!) small ships, and that every large ship carried 1000 of his finest horsemen! Each of the smaller craft could carry only 100 men! Obviously Sébéos did not use any arithmetic, for the number carried according to his account amounted to no less than 800,000 troops not including the vast numbers of sailors and oarsmen to man the ships. He does not moreover explain what the horsemen were doing on the ships, since Muawiyah led his army to Chalcedon on the overland route as Sébéos himself records. According to the chroniclers, Muawiyah encamped at Chalcedon opposite Constantinople where he awaited his fleet. When it arrived, Muawiyah arrayed the ships and led them against the city. But as he approached the walls, a terrible storm broke which completely destroyed the Arab fleet. Not a single ship survived and all those on board were drowned. Following this disaster, they withdrew in the night (?) and returned to their countries. The stirring narrative is repeated by Aqoghig de Daron (ed. Dulaurier, p. 152), and by Vardan. The latter, however, more modestly reduces the number of smaller vessels to a mere 1000 (!).

VIII. Theophanes (p. 346) reports that the day before the battle the Emperor had a dream in which he found himself in Thessaloniki. When he awoke he related the vision to a dream-interpreter who informed him that it would have been better had he not slept or had the dream. He translated the dream as signifying that God had willed that the enemy be victorious, this being the significance of Thessaloniki in the dream. The Emperor did not take the dream-interpreter seriously, joined battle, and was defeated. The same story is repeated by George the Monk (p. 716), Zonaras (III, 314), Leo the Grammarian (p. 214), Cedrenus (p. 756), Glycas (p. 320), Michael the Syrian (II, 445), and other Eastern chroniclers. The reader should not forget that the Byzantine chroniclers had a hatred for Constantine because, as they wrote, he supported the Monothelitic heresy. For this reason the Byzantines strove to show that God had abandoned the Emperor and that his defeats were punishments for his sins. The Arabs, too, had a tendency to turn to the supernatural, for they relate that on the night before the battle, while the Greeks rang their church bells (on board ship?), the Arabs spent the night in prayer (Tabari, I, 2867 f., Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe usw.*, p. 419). The Arab chroniclers would quite naturally omit to report that part of the Arab fleet consisted of Christian Syrian sailors and of Christian Egyptians.

IX. Theophanes relates that in the middle of the battle the Emperor "gave his imperial robes to another", then soon after, he adds, "the son of Vucinator leapt

... onto the imperial galley", seized the Emperor and led him to another ship and thus "miraculously saved him". Then he returned to the royal galley where he fought bravely "on behalf of the Emperor". The enemy (?) surrounded him believing him to be the Emperor and finally slew him "and the person who was dressed in the imperial robes". The Emperor was saved and abandoning all sailed back to Constantinople. Such is the strange narrative of Theophanes. George the Monk who relates a somewhat more confusing story concerning the friend of the Emperor who wore the latter's robes, but basically an identical description of the battle, concludes with the Emperor "being saved on a smaller vessel with a few men". Zonaras (III, 314) relates that the Emperor "clothed in paltry dress" leapt onto a boat that was nearby with a few men and escaped. Glycas records "he stole away secretly". Leo the Grammarian and Theodosius Melitene (p. 109) write that the Emperor returned in disgrace. And lastly, in a codex (*Catalogus codicum Astroligicum*, etc.), an identical report is given. Hence among the Byzantine chroniclers all of whom loathed Constantine there developed a tradition of the "miraculous or strange" escape of Constantine. The same story but with less detail is related by Michael the Syrian (II, 445, 446), Abul Faraj Bar Hebraeus (p. 98), and the Chronicle of the Year 1234 (p. 214). The entire odd episode has no basis for reason and must have been cultivated and propagated for other purposes. The Emperor at the head of his fleet attacked the Egyptians, as the Arabs themselves write (Tabari, I, 2867, Mirkhond, pp. 152, 153) at the moment the enemy were being requisitioned with masts and other timber for the use of their warships. Constantine was a fine soldier and courageous warrior throughout his life. Why all at once was he forced to change clothing giving others his imperial robes and using "paltry" dress himself to be saved "strangely" on another vessel by the son of Vucinator who returned to fight on the imperial galley. If in fact the galley had been captured in a surprise attack by the Arabs, the simplest action would have been to abandon the ship for another. Why would he waste precious time to change garb? Why especially did the son of Vucinator who had rescued him return to the imperial galley? To fight the Arabs? But according to the story the enemy had already boarded the royal vessel. Therefore something quite different must have occurred. But what precisely was this something different? Should we associate the incident with the enmity and mistrust which the Emperor had for his brother who was subsequently executed. But more about this in another chapter. If in fact his brother did accompany him at the time and there existed a plot against the Emperor, then the need for a rapid change of clothing, the sudden rescue and hasty departure of Constantine which Theophanes describes as "strange" can be explained. The "enemy" was not the Arab but the conspiratorial party. If we accept such an interpretation, then the return of the son of Vucinator who in this manner covered the escape of the Emperor can be explained. Nor is it strange that the defeat of the Byzantines who were trained seamen with a fleet that possessed a maritime tradition should occur when the officers spent more of their energy in conspiracy and intrigue than in conducting a naval battle.

X. The Arab chroniclers relate in very romantic fashion the details of the battle of Akuba. The most beautiful story is that contained in the history of En-Noweiri. He begins by remarking that because the military operations were taking more time than expected, the Caliph Uthman sent Abdallah Ibn Zubayr to the front. When Abdallah reached Africa he noted firstly that the Greeks and Arabs engaged in battle every day until noontime, then returned to their respective camps because of the great heat, and secondly, that Abdallah, governor of Egypt, did not participate in the fighting. Ibn-Zubayr then visited the tent of Abdallah and asked why he did not take part in the fighting. The latter replied that Djorzir (Gregory), prince of the Greeks, proclaimed that the person, whether Greek or Moslem, who slew Abdallah would be given his daughter in marriage and 100,000 dinars. And Abdallah added that "as you will know, most of my warriors have only recently become Moslems and the prince's daughter is most beautiful". Thereupon Ibn-Zubayr advised Abdallah to offer a reward in turn for the death of Djorzir of 100,000 dinars and the prince's daughter as a concubine. And so it came to pass. But because the skirmishes continued, Ibn-Zubayr advised one regiment of Arabs to abstain from battle the following day. Then when the noon rest-hour from fighting came, the Greeks as usual returned to their camp and began to rest, but at that moment the regiment of Arabs that had been held in reserve led by Ibn-Zubayr himself launched an attack against the unarmed Greeks. Ibn-Zubayr slew the Greek prince, following which the army of the Greeks was dissolved. Ibn-Zubayr received as a gift the daughter of the prince.

Al-Hakam relates a somewhat similar story but in his version the daughter of the prince was part of the booty allotted to a member of the Ansar tribe. But the Ansars were not a tribe. They were inhabitants of Medina who had become followers of Mohammed.

At all events, the exploits of Ibn-Zubayr passed into the epic tradition of Arabic poetry. The tradition relates that as a reward for his great feats, he was designated to announce the victory of the Arabs to the Caliph Uthman. It should be noted that subsequently, following the death of the Caliph Yazid, in the 64th year of the Hegira (A.D. 684), Abdallah ibn-Zubayr proclaimed himself the Caliph of Mecca. See Caetani, *Chronographia*, III, 734, 735 and Gibb, in *E.I.*, new ed., I, 57.

XI. Theophanes, p. 331, describes the excommunication and the deposition of Pyrrhus in the following words: "And he returned to Ravenna like a dog in its own spew. Upon learning of this, Pope Theodore summoned the clergy of the church and they assembled at the tomb of the first of the Apostles (i.e. St. Peter), asked for the holy chalice, with the life-giving blood of Christ and with his own hand pronounced an anathema on Pyrrhus and on all those who associated with him". The narrative has been accepted as authentic by most historians. But I believe it to be one of the exaggerations of Theophanes. No Western source makes any mention of the incident, not even the *Vita* of Pope Theodore. It briefly records an assembly of the entire clergy in the Church of St. Peter, the excommunication of Pyrrhus and his deposition. As Duchesne (*op. cit.*, p. 440)

appropriately observes, such a panegyric display would certainly have been recorded at somewhat greater length in the papal chronicles. Baronius (*Annales*, etc., Vol. XI) makes a similar conclusion. But the fact that all chronicles, Western and Eastern, state that the Pope excommunicated Pyrrhus would indicate that Pyrrhus was considered the recognized Patriarch of Constantinople by all, furthermore, that he had never renounced his office.

XII. I have cited in the text what is recorded by the L.P., the primary source, from which the whole problem stems. Since it specifically refers to Saracens dwelling in Sicily, this would indicate that the *Vita of Martin*, as it has survived today, was written or amended at the close of the 9th or the early 10th Century when Sicily did in fact contain Arab inhabitants. Amari detected this weak point and altered the phrase "those Saracens dwelling in Sicily" to an invasion by the Arabs, then tried to support his contention citing Arab and Byzantine sources.

1. An effort was made to use Baladhuri, according to whom the first to invade Sicily was Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg. Amari claims this took place in 652. Eickoff, pp. 15, 16, bypasses the difficulty and writes that on the basis of Baladhuri (ed. Hitti, p. 375), Muawiyah tested his fleet which consisted of 200 units against Sicily. For a whole month he plundered the island, clashed with Olympius whom he describes as a friend of the Emperor, then withdrew his forces. It has been maintained by some that this took place before the attack against Rhodes. See also fn. 11 of Duchêsne in L.P., I, p. 340. On this point I have a few comments to make:
1) Baladhuri possessed no consistent chronology for the various conquests of the Arabs. Thus in his chapter on the island conquests, his order is as follows: Sicily, Rhodes, Aradus, and Crete. Yet Aradus was taken in 650.
2) In this case, Baladhuri indicates when the first invasion of Sicily took place. He writes specifically that this occurred in the days of Muawiyah Ibn Sufyan. Muawiyah became Caliph in 661. Therefore, if we accept Baladhuri, the first invasion of Sicily should have occurred after 661.
2. Amari and others (Kaestner, etc.) had also relied on Al-Hakam (see translations of Slane and Gateau). According to the latter, Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg marched against Africa in the 34th year of the Hegira from where he most probably crossed over into Sicily (?) But the 34th year begins in July 22, 654 and ends on July 10, 655. Olympius died in 652. Obviously Hudayg could not have given battle to a deceased Olympius.

They then attempted to find a firmer argument in Noweiri, but he in turn who drew from Baladhuri writes that the first to send an army against Sicily was Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg during the Caliphate of Muawiyah. It should be noted that Noweiri records Muawiyah as having assumed the position of governor of Africa in the 45th year of the Hegira (665-666). On this account after examining all the available sources Cheira concluded that the first invasion of Sicily took place in the 49th year of the Hegira (A.D. 669-670).

Vasiliev writes the following surprising account (*La Dynastie d'Amorium*,

etc.). Muawiyah Ibn Sufyan, governor of Syria (he was actually governor of Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia), because of envy (?) and rivalry with Abdallah Ibn Saad, governor of Egypt, entrusted a naval expedition to Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg. The latter, in charge of a small fleet, made a landing in Sicily. But he was unable to capture any town and after minor skirmishes with Olympius abandoned the island and returned to Syria with much booty!

Amari also tried to support his argument by using the *Commemoratio* according to which, as Martin relates, he was accused of sending funds to the Saracens. But Martin, as he writes in his letter to Theodore Spoudis (see Migne, P.L., Vol. 87, p. 199) says simply that he had sent money to ransom captives. Amari hastens to conclude in the light of this remark that those who were to be ransomed had been captured in Sicily.

3. And lastly, another attempt was made to support the credibility of this famous invasion in Theophanes. The chronicler records as follows for the year of the Creation 6155 (663), the 22nd of Constatas (662-663), the 8th of Muawiyah (he places the beginning of the reign of Muawiyah after the death of Uthman, since he does not recognize Ali), or A.D. 663-664), the 11th of the Patriarch Peter (665-666), "in that year a part of Sicily was captured and they settled (I presume the captives) in Damascus at their own wish". Although this was an event that happened on the basis of Theophanes between the years 663 and 666, Amari claims this occurred in 652 and that those who settled in Damascus are the captives taken in Sicily by Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg.

But no scholar of all those who dealt with the entire matter realized that in 652 no Arab attack could have been undertaken against Byzantine territory because a truce existed in the period between Byzantine and Arab.

Such is the strange story that was born of a single phrase in the L.P., and for which so much effort was expended to mask the expedition of Olympius against Sicily, and to weave a beautiful story.

XIII. Theophanes makes no reference to Ali and to Hassan as Caliphs. After Uthman, he records the following successors (p. 346): A.M. 6148 (A.D. 656) "Muawiyah, leader of the Arabs, 24 years". For the year A.M. 6151 (659), the 18th of Constantine (658-659), he writes, "Ali, of Persia, was assassinated and Muawiyah reigned alone ..." (p. 347). Michael the Syrian, II, 448 and 468, records that Muawiyah ruled 20 years. Abul Faraj says 19 years. Elie Bar Sinaya, p. 88, writes that Muawiyah assumed rule on the 21 of Rebi I (July 26, 661). Agapius, p. 226, writes that he reigned for 20 years and was an Emir for another 20. According to Maçoudi, V, 14, he ruled 19 years, 8 months. Tabari, IV, 22-24, says 19 years, 3 months. Makrizi claims 19 years, 3 months. Hamsa and Al-Hakam write identically. The Chronicle of 724, p. 156, says 19 years and 2 months. The Chronicles of 846 (p. 175) and 819, relate 20 years. On the other hand, Al-Makine says 19 years, 3 months. Suyuti maintains that he assumed the leadership in Rebi I (the 41st of the Hegira) and died in the month Redgeb in the 60th year of the

Hegira (April 680). Actually Muawiyah was proclaimed Caliph officially in July (see Nöldeke, *Zur Geschichte der Araber usw.*) of 661 and died at Damascus in April 680 (see the above sources in addition to Lammens, Muawiyah, in *E.I.*, old ed., pp. 659-665). But to the subject of his death, I will return in another volume. Caetani, in *Chronographia*, pp. 453 and 462, on the basis of all the sources, concludes as the most probable date July or August or September of 661. To judge by the above sources, Muawiyah reigned in actual fact 18 years and about 9 months if we accept that he was proclaimed Caliph after the resignation of Hasan in July of 661. Baethgen, *Fragmente*, records that he was proclaimed Caliph on Monday the 21st of Redgeb of the 41st year. Bar Sinaya reports an identical date, and therefore the 26th of July 661 which fell on a Monday.

XIV. I shall not attempt here to solve the problem since it is not a subject for the present study, but will list the references for the convenience of the reader.

A. The Chronicle of Monemvasia states, "who recently are surnamed Tzakonians". B. Another passage of the Chronicle adds "on which account these Laconians were renamed Tzakonians". C. The report of the Bishop of Monemvasia relates that those who fled to the mountains preserve the name of Laconians "calling themselves in their dialect Tzakonians instead of Laconians". D. Nicephorus Gregoras (Bonn ed., I, 98) writes "The Laconians ... in whose corrupted dialect are known as Tzakonians". E. G. Pachymeres (Bonn ed., I, 309) relates "many of the Laconians who corrupt the name into Tzakonians ...". On the basis of these sources, the theory has become generally accepted that in fact the Tzakonians are Laconians of the outlying areas (see Charanis, *The Chronicle of Monemvasia*, etc., and Menardos, *Who Were the Laconians*).

Leake (*Peloponnesiaca*, p. 138) observed that the name Laconian was synonymous with Tzakonian from as early as the 13th Century. Amantos (*Tzakonia-Sklavonia*) who also accepted the above explanation had also argued that the Tzakonian dialect is in fact a direct descendant of the ancient Doric. Koukoules however showed that Tzakonia as a name is not related with Laconia but derives from the word "tzakoni", that is, a rocky and impassable country (*Tzakonia-Tzakonians*). Bees (*On the Founding of Monemvasia*) accepted this etymology. Kyriakides (*The Slavs in the Peloponnese*, pp. 62 f.) points out that one version relates Tzakonia with the rocky and barren land, whereas the other version in the Chronicle studiedly relates etymologically the Tzakonians and the Laconians. He refers to the study of Pernot, *Introduction a l'etude du dialecte Tsakonien*, Paris, 1934, p. 145. In a recent study (*Les termes Tsakones-Tsakoniai, et leur evolution semantiques*, in *R.E.B.*, 21/1963, pp. 242 f.), H. Ahrweiler analyses the entire subject and describes the different schools of thought, then argues that "Tsakones" does not mean "outlying Laconians", but believes that the mountain Tzakon means he who guards or watches, the guardian, and in fact he who keeps a lookout in mountainous areas. She maintains that the name derives from the Arab word "zaka" which means garrison. The terms "Tzakonia" and "Tsakones" are pagan names which were used interchangeably with the similar sounding words indicating a garrison and specially a garrison of a fortress or strongpoint.

XV. The relevant sources are as follows:

1. Theophanes (p. 347), A.M. 6150 (658 or in accordance with the emendations of Brooks, 6151 or A.D. 659), the 17th of Constans (657-658), who says "was drawn up between the Romans and the Arabs, by the representative of Muawiyah, on account of the rebellion ...".
2. Cedrenus (p. 762) for the 17th year of Constantine (657-658), "Muawiyah leader of the Arabs, sent a delegation for peace to Constans ... but he rejected the proposal".
3. Leo the Grammarian, p. 158 and Theodosius Melitene, p. 109, record about the same. Hence, to judge by Cedrenus, Leo and Theodosius, Constantine did not accept the proposals of Muawiyah.
4. Zonaras (III, 315) on the contrary agrees with Theophanes but limits the truce to two years.
5. Andrea Dandolo writes that a peace treaty was drawn up in the 20th year of Constans, hence 660-661.
6. Elie Bar Sinaya, p. 88, Muawiyah made peace with the Romans in the year 973 (A.D. 662), the 42nd of the Hegira (662-663).
7. Somewhat identical is the Syrian source which Baethgen cites for the year 973 (A.D. 662).
8. Baladhuri, on the basis of Hisam ben Ammar writes of peace and hostages without however mentioning any date.
9. Maçoudi cites two years, the 36th of the Hegira (IV, 350-353) and the 39th (II, 335).
10. Yakubi (II, 257) records the 41st of the Hegira (661-662).
11. Hanifah al Dinawari places the peace treaty in the 36th year of the Hegira (656-657), that is, immediately after the assassination of Ali.
12. Tabari gives no date whatsoever.
13. The Syrian chronicle edited by Nöldeke, p. 96, says when Muawiyah was finally installed as Caliph in Damascus he did not accept any renewal of the treaty.
14. The same is contained in the *Chronica Minora*, p. 56, and understandably so since it is identical with the previous source.
15. Michael the Syrian (II, 450) relates that in the year 980 (668-669), the 27th of Constans (667-668), the 9th of Muawiyah (664) and the 54th of the Arabs (673), the seven-year truce between Arabs and Byzantines expired.

Such are the primary sources dealing with the chronology of the peace treaty between Muawiyah and the Byzantines. The few references I have cited convey a good idea of the perplexity of the problem.

XVI. It is indeed strange how the problem of the position which Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg held in Africa has become so entangled. Firstly, some sources write his name as Khudayg. The correct spelling of his name was restored some time later. See fn. 3, p. 210, of Ibn Khaldoun, ed. De Slane.

1. Baladhuri, ed. Hitti, pp. 358, 359, relates that Muawiyah removed the son

of Amr and appointed in his place Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg as governor of Egypt for four years, that is, from the 43rd year (663) to the 47th (667) of the Hegira.

2. Ibn Idhari, ed. Fagnan, writes that Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg was appointed governor of Egypt and Africa in the 47th year (667) and held the post through the 48th year of the Hegira.
3. En-Noweiri records that Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg was appointed governor on Africa in the 45th year (665).
4. Ibn Khaldoun, I, 210, 211, mentions Muawiyah as only a general.
5. Al-Maliki, ed. and trans. Idris, writes that Muawiyah was named in the 40th year (May 660 - May 661).
6. Ubayd Allah, ed. Levi-Provencal, says that Muawiyah was given the post of governor of Africa.
7. Makrizi, in *Description de l'Egypte*, ed. Casanova, does not mention Muawiyah as governor of Egypt. On the contrary, for the 43rd to 46th years, he gives other names of governors of Egypt.
8. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber usw.*, p. 427, fn. 1, maintains that on the basis of Baladhuri, Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg was appointed in the 43rd year (663).
9. Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten usw.*, who specially studied the problem of the governors of Egypt, does not mention Muawiyah as governor of Egypt.
10. Zambaur, *Manuel de Genealogie*, etc., who has specialized in the study of the chronology and the genealogy of the Caliphs and the various Emirs makes no reference to Muawiyah as a governor of Egypt or of Africa. In fn. 3, p. 25, he remarks that his supposed appointment is mentioned only by Suyuti. He believes that Muawiyah was an army leader alone. It should be noted that Zambaur uses as his source Ibn Al-Athir, El-Kindi, etc., but relies mostly on Wüstenfeld.

Under the circumstances, confusion has understandably arisen from the numerous inconsistencies in the sources, which accounts for his being referred to sometimes as governor of Egypt, other times as the governor of Africa, or of both. I believe that Muawiyah was commander of the army of Egypt and as such he invaded the province of Africa. It should be noted that the Arab administration of Africa was established in 669 and the first governor was Uqba Ibn Nafi Al-Fihri.

XVII. The chronology of the new Arab invasion of Africa which was in this instance but a prelude to the final conquest of the Province has also given rise to many questions. The Byzantine historians make absolutely no reference to the event, nor do the Syrians. One is therefore compelled to turn exclusively to Arab sources for the chronology as follows.

1. Al-Baladhuri, ed. Hitti, pp. 357 ff. When Muawiyah became Caliph he appointed Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg who in the 20th year (641!) sent Uqba, and so on. Muawiyah became Caliph in the 41st year (May 661 - April 662). Hence the information on the dating is inaccurate unless some

typographical error was made. Moreover, the same author, p. 358, drawing his information from Wakidi, writes that Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg in the 47th year (667) raided and plundered Africa.

2. Abd. Al-Hakam relates that Muawiyah made three expeditions, in the 34th year (654-655), the 40th (660-661) and the 50th (670). Gateau who translated the text of this chronicler, emends the text. According to him a single incursion was undertaken by him in the 45th year (665).
3. Ibn Khaldoun, I, 210, 211, records that Muawiyah was put in charge of the African invasion. He marched out of Egypt in the 45th year (665).
4. En-Noweiri, ed. de Slane, writes nearly identically.
5. Ibn Adhari, ed. Fagnan, writes the 45th year Muawiyah advanced ... (there follows a lacuna of 7 lines).
6. Al-Maliki says that in the 45th year Muawiyah left Egypt and advanced into Africa. But a few lines later in the text, he writes that according to Abu-l-Arab, Muawiyah made three incursions, in the 34th, the 40th (660-661) and the 50th years (670-671). That is, he repeats the information given by Abd-Al-Hakam.
7. Ubayd Allah states that Uqba led several expeditions, in the 41st (662), the 42nd (662-663), and the 43rd years (663-664). The only reference made to Muawiyah Ibn Hudayg is that he was appointed governor of Africa and was removed from the office after the Sicilian expedition (669-670).
8. Kairouani, ed. Pelissier and Remusat, in the 45th year (665), the Caliph sent Muawiyah ben Hudayg to Africa.

Wellhausen confuses this expedition with the later campaigns led by Uqba.

At all events, the data from the above sources indicate that the chronology proposed by Baladhuri and Abd Al-Hakam is unacceptable since both explicitly write that the invasion took place after Muawiyah became Caliph. Nor is the year 660-661 acceptable because the treaty of peace between the Byzantines and Arabs was still in force. Consequently, the invasion could not have taken place before 662 or the 42nd year of the Hegira.

XVIII. Sergius had arrived in Damascus before Andrew (since the latter had been sent from Constantinople after news of the rebellion of Saborius had reached the capital). Muawiyah pretended to be sympathetic with the Emperor. When he received Andrew, Sergius who was seated next to Muawiyah, immediately stood up in the presence of the Byzantine official.

Muawiyah admonished him, and asked, "Why are you frightened?" Sergius replied that he stood up from force of habit. Then Muawiyah turned to Andrew and asked, "What dost thou seek?" He replied, "Do not give assistance to the rebel". Then Muawiyah replied in turn, "But both of you are my enemies. I will help the party that is most in my interest to help". At the next meeting, Muawiyah asked Sergius not to pay his respects to Andrew, otherwise he could expect no further sympathy or assistance from him. And thus did Sergius behave when Andrew entered. He deemed Sergius's lack of respect insulting and thereupon informed him that he would some day show him who he was. Sergius then replied

that he did not stand up when the Byzantine official came in because the latter was neither man nor woman. Muawiyah demanded from Andrew the income from the tax collections of the Empire (I am not sure that Theophanes recorded what precisely Muawiyah had demanded. I suspect he asked for tribute money). Andrew rejected outright any suggestion of such payment and ended the meeting by saying that God "to whom we turn and in whom we place our hopes will protect the Romans". Then he departed from Damascus and, as has been pointed out in the text, he ordered the clesurarch of Arabissus to arrest Sergius and to bring the culprit to him in chains. When the latter was returning in advance of Fadalah he was captured and brought to Andrew in chains whereupon he fell on his knees and begged for mercy. Andrew then replied, "Be thou the same Sergius who preened himself in the privy parts of Muawiyah calling me a woman. Lo and behold from now on your privy parts will be of no avail to you ...". He thereupon commanded that "his privy parts be severed", and he be hanged. The Syrians claim that he was crucified. Brooks (*The Sicilian Expedition*, etc.) maintains that the whole story was written by a witness who was well acquainted with the affairs of the Arabs and who lived in those regions that were subject to them. At all events, the great details recorded regarding the incident appear to substantiate Brooks' views. Yet how could a person living in Arab-occupied lands know the details of the dialogue between Andrew and Sergius that transpired in Byzantine territory?

XIX. Concerning the murder of Constantine, the chroniclers give the following dates:

1. Theophanes, A.M. 6160 (March 668-669), the 27th of Constans (668), the 13th of Muawiyah (668-669), the 1st of the Patriarch John (November 669-670).
2. Cedrenus, p. 763, the 27th year of his reign.
3. George the Monk, p. 718, after six years in Sicily.
4. The Patriarch Nicephorus, p. 32, the 27th of his reign.
5. Zonaras, III, 315, the 27th of his reign and after 6 years in Sicily.
6. Glycas, p. 520, after six years in Sicily.
7. Michael the Syrian, II, 450, the year 980 (668-669).
8. Agapius, p. 195/455, at the end of the 27th year of his reign.
9. Chronicle of 1234, the 27th year of Constans, the year 980 (668-669).
10. Liber Pontificalis, I, 343-345, July 15, the 12th Indiction, July 15, 669.
11. Paul the Deacon, VI, 11, after being in Sicily from the 7th to the 12th Indiction, September 663-664 and September 668-669.
12. Bedae, he was murdered in the 12th Indiction.
13. Anastasius the Librarian, Migne, P.L., 128, p. 728, the 15th of July of the 11th Indiction (July 15, 668).
14. The other Western chronicles report more or less the same as the chronicle of Paul the Deacon and record that he was murdered, having been in Sicily from the 7th to the 12th Indiction.
15. The Chronicon Altinate et Gradense. According to one tradition, Constantine reigned for 28 years, and to another 27 years. On p. 108 is a

passage stating that in the month of November, the 15th day, Constans, the son of Heraclius, and grandson of Pogonatus, died having reigned 20 years.

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The principal abbreviations in use are the following:

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BYZ.	– Byzantion, Brussels.
B.Z.	– Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Leipzig and Munich.
C.E.H.	– Cambridge Economical History, Cambridge
C.M.H.	– Cambridge Medieval History, Cambridge.
Constantin Porphyrogenitus	
De Cer.	– De Ceremoniis.
De Adm. Imp.	– De Administrando Imperio.
De Them.	– De Thematibus
C.S.C.O.	– Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
D.O.P.	– Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Washington.
E.E.B.S.	– Annual of the Society of Byzantine Studies, Athens.
E.H.R.	– English Historical Review, London.
E.I. o.ed.	– Encyclopedie de l'Islam, old edition.
E.I. n.ed.	– Encyclopedie de l'Islam, new edition.
E.O.	– Echos d'Orient, Paris.
Goeje, B.G.A.	– Bibliotheca Geographorum Araborum, Leyden.
F.H.A.	– Fragmenta Historicorum Araborum, Leyden.
J.A.	– Journal Asiatique, Paris.
J.H.S.	– Journal of Hellenic Studies, London.
L.P.	– Liber Pontificalis, ed. Duchesne.
M.G.H.	– Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
Migne, P.G.	– Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca.
Migne, P.L.	– Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina.
P.O.	– Patrologia Orientalis, Graffin and Nau.
R.E.B.	– Revue des Etudes Byzantines, Paris.
S.O.C.	– Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitarum.
Viz. Vr.	– Vizantiniski Vremenik, Moscou.

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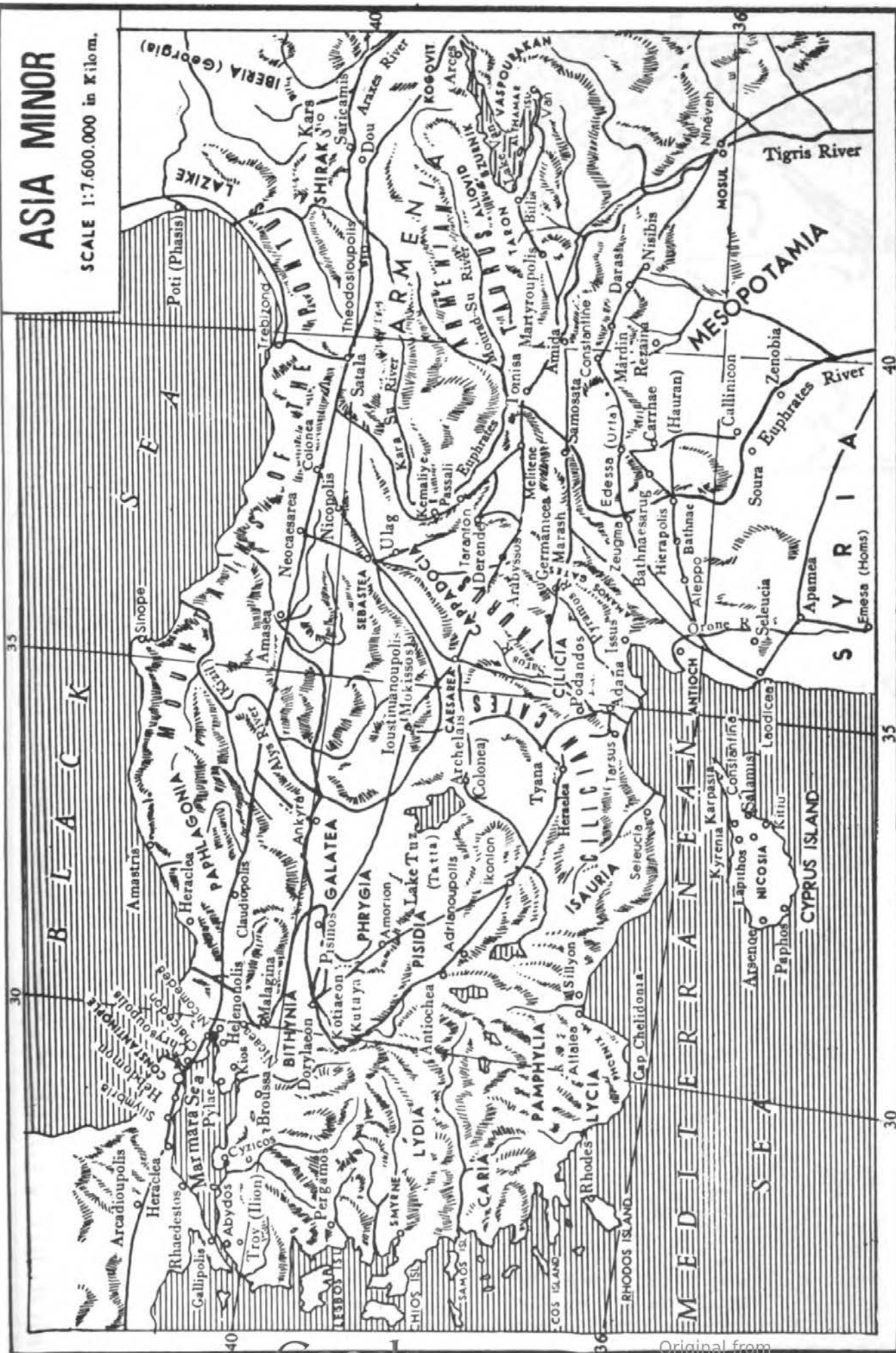
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ASIA MINOR

SCALE 1:7,600,000 in Kilom.



NORTH AFRICA

SCALE 1:15,300,000 in Klm.

